UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI DE VITA CAESARUM LIBER VIII DIVUS TITUS

AN EDITION WITH PARALLEL PASSAGES AND NOTES

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
HELEN PRICE

The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN
1919


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The writer takes this opportunity to express her appreciation and thanks to Swarthmore College for the privilege of holding the John Lockwood Memorial Fellowship during 1913–1914. She wishes also to thank the Somerville Literary Society for the honor of appointment to the Martha E. Tyson Fellowship (1914–1915), which she held while working on this dissertation. For kindly criticism and suggestions as well as for assistance in proof-reading, she takes pleasure in expressing her thanks to Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor Walton B. McDaniel, Professor Roland G. Kent, and Assistant Professor George D. Hadzsits and Dr. Theodore A. Buenger.

PREFACE

The text of the Vita Divi Titi in this edition is based on the rescension of Ihm, and the sigla are those used by that editor:

Ω—the readings of the archetype of the existing codices.
M—cod. Paris. 6115 (Memmianus), of the 9th Cent.
G—cod. Gudianus 268, of the 11th Cent.
X—the archetype of:
  L—cod. Laur. 68, 7, of the 12th (or 11th) Cent.
  P—cod. Paris. 5801, of the 12th Cent.
  O—cod. Laur. 66, 39, of the 12th Cent.
  S—cod. Montepess. 117, of the 12th Cent.
  T—cod. Berolin. lat. fol. 337 (Hulsianus), of the 14th Cent.
Υ—the archetype of:
  π—cod. Paris. 6116, of the 12th Cent.
  Q—cod. Paris. 5802, of the 12th Cent.
  R—cod. Regius Mus. Brit. 15 C III, of the 12th Cent.
N—excerpta cod. Paris. 17 903 (Notre-Dame 188), of the 13th Cent.
ς—more recent codices; one of these is δ, cod. Paris. 5804, of the 15th Cent.

As far as possible the abbreviations of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae have been used. Exception has been made in the case of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, for which the usual abbreviation CIL. has been employed.

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C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI DE VITA CAESARUM
LIBER VIII
DIVUS TITUS

I. TITUS, COGNOMINE PATERNO (*1*), AMOR AC DELICIAE (*2*) GENERIS HUMANI — TANTUM ILLI AD PROMERENDAM OMNIUM VOLUNTATEM

Eutr. 7. 21. 1, Huic Titus filius successit, qui et ipse Vespasianus est dictus, vir omnium virtutum genere mirabilis adeo, ut amor et deliciae humani generis diceretur.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 6, generis humani delicias appellantes.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 1, Titus vocabulo patris etiam Vespasianus dictus.

10. 6, deliciae atque amor humani generis.

10.16, eum delicias publicas, ut diximus, appellantes.

Suid. *s. v.* Τίτος: Τίτος, *βασιλεὺς* 'Ρωμαίων *Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱός, ἀνὴρ πᾶν ἀρετῆς συνειληφὼς γένος, ὡς πρὸς ἁπάντων ἔρως τε καὶ τρυφὴ τοῦ θνητοῦ προσαγορευθῆναι γένους.*

Auson. 259. 11. p. 186 Peiper, Titus orbis amor.

271. 2. p. 190 Peiper, orbis amor.

Aug. *Civ.* 5. 21, Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio suavissimis imperatoribus.

(*1*) Titus's full name was the same as his father's, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, (Newton 1—*CIL.* VI. 1268.) while his younger brother received the cognomen Domitianus from their mother's name, Flavia Domitilla (*Vesp.* 3.). In the same way Vespasian had his cognomen from his mother, Vespasia Polla, while his elder brother took the same name as his father, Flavius Sabinus (*Vesp.* 1. 3.). This arrangement made some distinction necessary, or at least, convenient, when the same praenomen was used for both sons. A further use of this principle appears in a sepulchral inscription to a M. Cosinius Priscus, set up by his wife, Tuccia Prima, and their three sons, M. Cosinius Priscus, M. Cosinius Primus, and M. Cosinius Priscianus (*CIL.* IX. 1506.). The son of Vitellius took his cognomen from his mother's gentile name (*Vit.* 6.).

Titus, however, is usually designated merely by his praenomen, as his father and brother are almost invariably designated by their respective cognomina. Tacitus once names him Titus Vespasianus (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1.). In inscriptions during his father's lifetime the form T. Caesar Aug. f. Vespasianus is most common (Newton p. 4. n. 1.). Sometimes Vespasianus is omitted (Newton 11-*CIL.* X. 6659.) and sometimes he is referred to as Caesar Vespasianus (Newton 30-*CIL.* III. p. 849.). On the coins of Titus during his father's reign there are many forms, T. Caes. Imp., T. Caes(ar) Vesp(asian). Imp., T. Caes. Imp. Vespasian., and T. Caes. Imp. Aug. f. In his own reign we find Imp. T. Caes. Divi Vesp. Aug., Imp. T. Caes. Vesp. Aug., and also the praenomen written in

VEL INGENII VEL ARTIS (*3*) VEL FORTUNAE SUPERFUIT (*4*), ET, QUOD

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1, Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax. . . . 5. 1, Atque ipse (Titus) ut super fortunam crederetur decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans ac plerumque in opere, in agmine gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore. 2. 5, natura atque arte compositus adliciendis etiam Muciani moribus.

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full, Imp. Titus Caes. Vespasian. Aug. and simply Imp. Titus (Cohen I. *Titus.* 6659.).

(*2*) Both *amor* and *deliciae* are used of the object of love, but the combination of the two names is rather rare. In this sense the plural of *amor* is more usual and *delicia*, though less frequent than *deliciae*, is sometimes found (*Thes. L. L.* I. 1970. 9-25; *Thes. L. L.* V. 2. 447.77-448.36.). Cicero uses *deliciae* quite commonly in the sense of "darling." He speaks of *Tulliola, deliciae nostrae,* (Cic. *Att.* 1. 5. 8.) and sends greetings to the wife and daughter of his dear friend Atticus, Piliae salutem dices et Atticae, deliciis atque amoribus meis (*id. ibid.* 16. 6. 4.). Thus he speaks of Roscius, the favorite actor, *amores ac deliciae tuae* (Cic. *Div.* 1. 79.). Caelius in a letter to Cicero employs a similar group of words of C. Sempronius Rufus, *mel ac delicias tuas* (Cic. *Epist.* 8. 8. 1.). With sarcastic force Cicero twice uses these same words of L. Antonius in the Philippics, *deliciae atque amores populi Romani L. Antonius* (Cic. *Phil.* 13. 26; cf. 6. 12.). With the phrase *in deliciis* we find *amoribusque* in Gell. 7. 8. 6, puellam retentam a Scipione atque in deliciis amoribusque ab eo usurpatam, and again in Rut. Lup. 2. 1, a similar phrase, haec mulier nuper fuit locuples, potens, in amore atque deliciis necessariorum.

(*3*) *ars* is here used, as commonly, in the sense of "acquired skill" or "cleverness" in contrast with *ingenium,* "native ability," and *fortuna,* "good luck"; e. g., in Cicero's estimate of Lucretius, poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt: multis luminibus ingenii, multae etiam artis. In *Vit.* 2. 4, the plural of *ars* appears in this signification, but in the same chapter (*Vit.* 2. 5.) the singular is used meaning "device."

(*4*) The verb *superesse* here clearly means "to be in abundance." Suetonius uses this verb also with the meanings, "to survive" (*Claud.* 21. 2.), "to be left" or "to remain" (*Cal.* 51.3; *Dom.*9.3.), and "to defend a suit" or "act as advocate" (*Aug.*56.3.). Gellius (Gell. 1.22.) treats of the meanings of *superesse* and condemns its use in the last mentioned signification, giving an anecdote of a praetor who replied to the statement of an advocate, "Ego illi V. C. supersum," by the following witty remark, "Tu plane superes, non ades" (Gell. 1.22.6; "You are not acting as advocate, you're clearly de trop"). In spite of the fact that Suetonius uses *superesse* with the meaning "to be in abundance" only in this passage, this interpretation is well supported by the use of the word in Pliny the Younger. After describing the beauties of his two villas, he says, "The beauties which both of these possess in such abundance are the reasons for my adding what they lack." Hae mihi causae utrique quae desunt adstruendi ob ea quae supersunt (Plin. *Epist.* 9.7.4). In another letter he says, Neque enim ego, ut multi, invideo

DIFFICILLIMUM EST, IN IMPERIO (*5*), QUANDO (*6*) PRIVATUS ATQUE ETIAM SUB PATRE PRINCIPE NE ODIO QUIDEM, NEDUM VITUPERATIONE PUBLICA (*7*) CARUIT—NATUS EST III KAL. IAN. INSIGNI ANNO GAIANA

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 1, Titus postquam imperium adeptus est, incredible quantum quem imitabatur, anteiret, praesertim litteris clementiaque ac muneribus.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 3, ubi patriae curam suscepit, incredible est, quantum quem imitabatur, anteierit, praecipue clementia, liberalitate, honorificentia ac pecuniae contemptu, quae eo amplius grata fuere, quod ex nonnullis a privato adhuc patratis, asperior luxuriaeque et avaritiae amans credebatur fore.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 2, Laetam voluptatibus adulescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior.

Dio 66. 18, *ὁ δὲ δὴ* Τίτος . . . *μοναρχήσας* . . . *χρηστὸς* . . . . *καὶ σώφρων. τάχα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ μετεβάλετο.*

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aliis bono quo ipse careo, sed contra sensum quendam voluptatemque percipio, si ea quae mihi denegantur amicis video superesse (Plin. *Epist.* 1.10.12.).

(*5*) If this is true and Titus won his popularity and good fame after entering upon the principate, it is well worth mentioning. Capitolinus in his life of Marcus Aurelius (Capitol. *Aur.* 15.5.) tells how difficult it is for an emperor to avoid criticism, nemo est principum quem non gravis fama perstringat, usque adeo ut etiam Marcus in sermonem venerit. However, if credence might be given the words of Pliny the Elder in the preface to the Natural History, there would seem to have been no great need for change in the prince. In dedicating his work to Titus, Pliny expresses a very different estimate of Titus's career up to the time of his sixth consulship, which was in the year 77 while Vespasian was Emperor (Plin. *Nat.* praef. § 3, sexiensque consul.): ut . . . sciant . . . omnes quam ex aequo tecum vivat imperium (Plin. *Nat.* praef. § 2.). This favorable view, however, may have been influenced by the kind treatment Pliny had received from Titus, which is mentioned later in the same preface, nec quicquam in te mutavit fortunae amplitudo nisi ut prodesse tantundem posses ut velles (Plin. *Nat.* praef. § 3.). Moreover, complimentary remarks alone would find their way into a dedicatory preface. Dio suggests as a theory to explain the change in Titus that a man who merely shares great power with another feels less responsibility and is less likely to restrain himself than one who holds full power, but also has full responsibility for his actions (Dio 66. 18.). To this effect he quotes the following remark of Titus.: *ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ* Τίτος *πρός τινα, ὃν πρότερον ἐσπουδάκει, εἶπεν ὅτι,* "Οὐχ *ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ἑτέρου τι δεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν δικάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' ἄλλου τι αἰτεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸν διδόναι τινί.*" Later, however, he suggests that perhaps the satisfactory conduct of this reign was due to its shortness: *ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, ὥς γε εἰς ἡγεμονίαν εἰπεῖν, ἐπεβίου, ὥστε μηδ' ἁμαρτίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐγγενέσθαι . . . ὁ δ', ὅτι ἐπιεικῶς ἄρξας, ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης ἀπέθανε.* Τάχα *ἂν ἐλεγχθείς, εἴγε ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐβεβιώκει, ὅτι εὐτυχίᾳ πλείονι ἢ ἀρετῇ ἐχρήσατο.* Interesting to compare with this are the words of Ausonius (Auson. 257. 11. p. 184 Peiper.), Et Titus imperii felix brevitate. For a fuller comparison of Titus as Caesar and as Emperor, cf. 6. 2, 7. 1.

NECE (*8*), PROPE SEPTIZONIUM (*9*) SORDIDIS (*10*) AEDIBUS, CUBICULO VERO PERPARVO ET OBSCURO, NAM MANET ADHUC ET OSTENDITUR(*11*).

Vesp. 3, (Vespasianus) ex hac (Flavia Domitilla) liberos tulit Titum et Domitianum et Domitillam.

Philocal. *fast. CIL.* I. p. 356, Divi Titi III Kal. Jan.

(*6*) *quando* is here purely causal (cf. *Tib.* 2.2; *Galba* 4.1; *Vesp.* 16.3, 25; *Aug.* 91.1.). This conjunction is frequently used with a distinct temporal force underlying the causal (*Claud.* 43; *Otho* 9. 1; *Tib.* 23.). The connection here is not strictly logical, for, as Trachmann observed (Trachmann p. 37.), *quando* does not introduce the cause of Titus's abundance of native ability, art, and good luck as might be expected, but rather gives an explanation of *et, quod difficillimum est, in imperio.*

(*7*) Some of the early editors point out that the *odium* was the result of his severity in the administration of the praetorian prefecture (*Tit.* 6.1.) and the greed shown in the selling of judicial decisions (*Tit.* 7.1.), while the *vituperatio publica* was aroused by his extravagance and general licentiousness, but especially by his relations with Berenice, which caused the fear that an Oriental empress might be imposed on the Roman people (*Tit.* 7.1.).

(*8*) That the year of the murder of Gaius was 41 A. D. is clear from the following facts from the life of Caligula by Suetonius. Caligula was born in the consulship of Germanicus and C. Fonteius Capito (*Cal.* 8. 1.), i.e. 12 A. D. (*CIL.* I. pars 1. p. 166.), lived 29 yrs. (*Cal.* 59) and was killed on the 24th of January (*Cal.* 58. 1.). Therefore, according to Suetonius, Titus was born on December 30th, 41 A. D. However, this date is not consistent with Suetonius's own statements that he died on the Ides of September in the 42nd year of his life, two years, two months, and twenty days after coming to the throne (*Tit.* 11.). His accession was presumably soon after the death of his father on June 23rd, 79 A. D. (*Vesp.* 24, consulatu suo nono). Now Dio says that Titus was thirty-nine years, five months, and twenty-five days old when he came to the throne and that he reigned two years, two months, and twenty days (Dio 66. 18, 26.).. To make these facts accord with the dates for the beginning and end of his reign the date of Titus's birth should be 39 A. D. Most authorities give this date as his birth-year and state that Suetonius was in error (cf. *Prosop.* II. 264 and Pauly Wissowa VI.[2] *s.v. Flavius* n. 207 p. 2697). The facts that Dio gives are consistent with Suetonius's statement that Titus died in his forty-second year; but neither Dio's statements nor Suetonius's own are in agreement with the year 41 as the date of his birth, when we reckon from the year of Titus's death. It seems best, then, to accept the year 39, although it seems very strange that Suetonius could be guilty of such an error. If the year 40 were the correct date, the slip would not be surprising, since Gaius was slain so early in the following year. A similar inaccuracy in Suetonius appears in *Claud.* 27. 2, but this is sometimes thought to be a mistake in the manuscripts (Smilda p. 138 ftn. discusses this inconsistency, which he would avoid by omitting the words *inque secundo consulatu*).

(*9*) It is of course impossible that this Septizonium is the building by that name which was erected by Septimius Severus (Emperor from 193-211 A. D.), but of the building or locality referred to in this passage nothing certain is known. The derivation of the word and the reason for its application to the three-storied colonnade of Severus has been the subject of much discussion. The name *septizonium* suggests the meaning, seven rings or bands. This might refer to a seven-storied building (Rolfe, *Suet. Tit.* n. on Septizonium.)—which was not the case with the building of Severus—or, as Huelsen has suggested, to the seven bands of shadow on a three-storied building, stylobate, three colonnades, and three entablatures (*ALL.* VII. 1892 p. 272.). Some authorities think that *septizonium* is a corruption of Septizodium, which spelling occurs in the best MSS. of Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. 15. 7. 3.). Huelsen (Jordan-Huelsen I.[3] p. 100 n. 134.) maintains that this was the name of the building of Severus and explains the word to mean the "House of the Seven Planets." The passage in Ammianus: cum itidem plebs excita calore quo consuevit, vini causando inopiam, ad Septemzodium convenisset, celebrem locum ubi operis ambitiosi Nymfaeum Marcus condidit imperator, is discussed by Jordan (Jordan *FUR.* p. 37). He states that Marcus certainly refers to Marcus Aurelius and that probably this is the same locality as the *prope Septizonium* of our passage. He concludes with the supposition: Fuit locus Septizonium dictus frequens plebis conventibus ante Hadrianum eumque Marcus Nymphaeo gratiorem reddiderat unde discitur locum illum fuisse plateam compitumve aut quadrivium aquae publicae munere ut multos in urbe celebrem. Locum dicimus: nam aedificii nomen ad locum translatum esse videtur. Huelsen (Jordan-Huelsen I.[3] p. 101 n. 135.), however, thinks that the name, Marcus, is used by error for Severus because the first name on the inscription on this building was that of Marcus Aurelius, as father of the Emperor (*CIL.* VI. 1032.). Statements that the Septizonium of our passage was in the 12th Region or on the Esquiline are equally without foundation (Jordan *FUR.* p. 37; Jordan-Huelsen I[3], sachliches Register, Septizonium Esquilinum Suet. Tit.; Harper's Dict. *s.v. Septizonium.*).

(*10*) Suetonius uses *sordidus* here in the sense of "mean" or "poor." It is so used, also, in contrast with *nobilis*, of the origin of a family (*Vit.* 1.1.) and Vespasian's wit is characterized as *scurrilis ac sordida* (*Vesp.* 22.). It is in this sense that Suetonius speaks of the *sordida plebs* (*Nero* 22.2.) and *sordidissimi homines* (*Claud.* 5.).

(*11*) A tourist of the days of the early Empire might also have been shown the nursery where Octavius was said to have been reared: nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano iuxta Velitrás permodicus et cellae penuariae instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit (*Aug.* 6.). Suetonius tells too of the exhibition of certain presents given Tiberius when a boy: chlamys et fibula, item bullae aureae, durant ostenduntur que adhuc Bais (*Tib.* 6. 3.). Domitian converted the house where he was born into the temple of the Flavian gens (*Dom.* 1.1.) and the birthplace of Augustus was made into a sanctuary (*Aug.* 5.). *Ostenditur* is used in the cases mentioned above and in our passage in the sense "is on exhibition." In the same way Suetonius tells of an altar which had been consecrated by a member of the Octavian family in early days, et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata . . . (*Aug.* 1.).

II. Educatus in aula (*1*) cum Britannico (*2*) simul ac paribus (*3*) disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros (*4*) institutus.

(*1*) *aula*, from Greek *αὐλή*, (Saalfeld, Tensaurus Italograecus p. 135-136; cf. Weise, Die griechischen Wörter in Latein p. 356.), in Suetonius usually has the meaning "court" or "life in the court circle" (*Cal.* 12. 1; *Nero* 6. 2; *Vesp.* 14; *Vit.* 4.). The derived adjective *aulicus* means "of the court" in the same sense of the word "court" (*Cal.* 19.3; *Dom.* 4. 1; *Nero* 45. 1.). One exception occurs in the Life of Caligula where *veteris aulae* seems to mean "the old palace" (*Cal.* 39. 1.) as distinct from the additions of Caligula.

(*2*) *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Britannicus* (*CIL.* XI. 3602; *Ephem. Epigr.* 7. 1242.), the son of the Emperor Claudius and Messalina (*Claud.* 27. 1; Dio 60. 12; Tac. *Ann.* 11. 32. 4; Jos. *Ant.* 20. 8. 1; *id. Bell. Iud.* 2. 12. 8.), was born in 41 or 42 B. C. (discussion of the date *Prosop.* I. 666. p. 361.). He was first given the cognomen Germanicus, but after the subjugation of Britain in 43 he was named Britannicus instead (*Claud.* 27. 1; Dio 60. 22.). After the death of Messalina and the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina, he was gradually robbed of all his attendants (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 26.2, 41.8; *Nero* 7. 1; Dio 60. 32.) and finally supplanted by his stepbrother Nero as successor to his father Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 25; Dio 60. 34.). Although Claudius seemed to repent of his treatment of his own son toward the end of his life (*Claud.* 43; Dio 60. 34.), Agrippina succeeded in keeping what she had gained (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 68; Dio 61. 1.), and soon after Nero's accession, when Britannicus was almost fourteen years old, he was poisoned by Locusta at the command of Nero, and hurriedly buried in the Campus Martius (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 15, 17; *Nero* 33.2; Dio 61. 7; Jos. *Ant.* 20. 8. 2, *et al.*).

(*3*) par=idem, cf. *Nero* 3.2.

(*4*) The only one of the teachers of Britannicus mentioned by name was Sosibius (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 1.2, 4. 6.), who was put to death at the instance of Agrippina, when she was trying to deprive the young prince of all trusty attendants (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 15. 5, 6.) soon after her marriage with Claudius (Dio 60. 32.). The story told below of the presence of Titus upon the occasion of the poisoning of Britannicus seems hardly probable. Vespasian would hardly have had the power to have his son among the companions of the young prince after the death of Narcissus (Dio 60. 34.), who was his patron at court (*Vesp.* 4. 1, 2.). Even if he had the power, he would not have wished him to be with Britannicus under the care of those who neglected the prince (Dio 60. 32.) and left him to the mercy of *educatores* who, we are told, gave him the poison in the first attempt on his life (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 15. 5, 6.).

QUO QUIDEM TEMPORE AIUNT METOPOSCOPUM (5) A NARCISSO (6), CLAUDI LIBERTO ADHIBITUM, UT BRITANNICUM INSPICERET, CONSTANTISSIME AFFIRMASSE ILLUM QUIDEM NULLO MODO, CETERUM TITUM, QUI TUNC PROPE ASTABAT, UTIQUE IMPERATURUM.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1, Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium, . . . prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa et inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum etiam fortuita.

(5) The Greek word *μετωποσκόπος* of which metoposcopus (Saalfeld p. 689. Weise *s.v.* has as the meaning Sternschauer, probably a misprint for Stirnschauer. Cf. the statement of Merivale VII. p. 42, "An astrologer whom N. had employed to cast the young prince's horoscope.") is the Latin transliteration, and from which we have in English the word metoposcopist, means, apparently, one who examines the foreheads of men to tell their character and fate. The word appears in the *Paedagogus* of Clemens Alexandrinus (Script. Physiog. Graeci et Latini Vol. II. p. 304, l. 21, Richard Foerster, Lipsic 1893.), where the allusion is so casual as to indicate little as to the use of the word: *τί ἂν τις φαίη τούτους ἰδών; ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ μετωποσκόπος ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος αὐτοὺς καταμαντεύεται μοιχούς τε καὶ ἀνδρογύνους* . . . . Hippolytus (Script. Physiog. Graeci et Latini Vol. II. p. 341.) tells of the *μετωποσκοπικὴ μαντεία*, the art of those diviners who promise to tell about the success of men's undertakings by their appearance, an art of which he says *μᾶλλον δὲ μανία*. Unfortunately the further exposition of the subject which he promises *μετ' οὐ πολὺ* is lost. Plutarch (Plut. *Sulla* 5.) tells of a certain Chaldean who looked at Sulla's face and observed carefully his mental processes and the motions of his body, and then prophesied a great future for him. Pliny the Elder (Plin. *Nat.* 35. 88.) uses the word of a man who tells future or past events from the face: (Apelles) Imagines adeo similitudinis indiscretae pinxit ut incredibile dictu, Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit quendam ex facie hominum divinantem quos metoposcopos vocant, ex iis dixisse aut futurae mortis annos aut praeteritae. Cicero (Cic. *de Fato* 5. 10.) uses the more general term *physiognomon* (qui se profitebatur hominum mores naturasque ex corpore, oculis, vultu, fronte pernoscere) in the anecdote of Socrates: stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum quod iugula concava non haberet, obstructas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat, addidit etiam mulierosum, in quo Alcibiades cachinnum dicitur sustulisse. The writings on the art of physiognomy among the ancients have been collected by Foerster and it is clear that in ancient times it consisted in divination of the fortunes (*Script. Physiog. Graeci et Latini*, Vol. I. proleg. LXXIII. n. 2.) as well as of the character of the subject.

(6) Nothing certain is known of the life of Narcissus before he was the powerful freedman of Claudius, one of those who, as Suetonius tells us, really ruled the Emperor (*Claud.* 29. 1.). There is in existence an inscription (*CIL.* V. 6641.) that reads *Narcissus C. Caesaris Augusti Germanici* which may refer to the same man as the secretary, *ab epistulis* (*Claud.* 28, Dio 60. 34.), of Claudius before he was freed, although it is quite uncertain. At the height of his power, he worked with Messalina for the destruction of Appius Silanus by playing on the superstitious nature of Claudius with imaginary dreams (*Claud.* 37.). Later, when the

ERANT AUTEM ADEO FAMILIARES, UT DE POTIONE, QUA BRITANNICUS HAUSTA PERIIT, TITUS QUOQUE IUXTA CUBANS (7) GUSTASSE CREDATUR GRAVIQUE MORBO ADFLICTATUS (8) DIU.

Tac. *Ann.* 13. 16, Mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis nobilibus sedentis vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et parciore mensa. Illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusque eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne omitteretur institutum aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis dolus repertus est. Innoxia adhuc ac praecalida et libata gustu potio traditur Britannico; dein postquam fervore aspernabatur, frigida in aqua adfunditur venenum, quod ita cunctos eius artus pervasit ut vox pariter et spiritus raperentur. Trepidatur a circumsedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes: at quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi et Neronem intuentes. Ille ut erat reclinis et nescio similis, solitum ita ait per comitialem morbum quo prima ab infantia adflictaretur Britannicus, et redituros paulatim visus sensusque . . . ita post breve silentium repetita convivii laetitia.

Empress carried her daring wickedness too far, he accused her to Claudius and urged him to punish her (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 34; Dio 60. 31; Juv. 14.327 ff.). Fearing that Claudius would not hold out against her wiles, he took matters into his own hands and had her put to death as if by order of the Emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 37.). He was very rich; according to Dio his fortune consisted of four hundred million sesterces ($20,000,000, Dio 60. 34. 4.) which is the largest recorded fortune of a private individual among the ancients. Suetonius states that the two great freedmen, Narcissus *ab epistulis* and Pallas *a rationibus*, were given so many honors and so much money by the senate and acquired so much by dishonorable practices besides, that when Claudius complained of lack of funds someone facetiously remarked that he would have plenty if he were admitted into partnership by his own freedmen (*Claud.* 28.). It was by Narcissus's favor that Vespasian was sent as *legatus legionis* to Germany (*Vesp.* 4. 1.). To flatter Claudius, Vitellius worshiped among his Lares golden images of these powerful freedmen, Narcissus and Pallas (*Vit.* 2. 5.). Soon after Nero became Emperor, the former was put to death through the power of Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 1. 4.), who hated him so much that even his friends afterward were in disfavor with her (*Vesp.* 4. 2.).

(7) The word *cubans* has given rise to some discussion. Bentley reads *accubans* here, as well as in *Cal.* 24. 1 and *Cal.* 32. 3 in spite of the MSS., on the ground that *cubare* cannot be used of "reclining at table." The emendation is not improbable palaeographically, since the preceding word in each case where *cubare* appears ends in "a" which makes it possible that the *ac* was lost by haplography. *Accubare* appears in this sense in the MSS. of Suetonius in *Aug.* 98. 4; *Jul.* 49. 2. Cicero (Cic. *Mur.* 74, *de Orat.* 2. 353.), however, and others (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 6. 110; Val. Max. 2. 1. 2.) use *cubare* of "reclining at table" where the text has not been called into question. Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 16. 1.) in his

Schol. Juv. 1. 71, (Locusta) haec increpitata a Nerone, quod lentum venenum Britannico privigno suo parasset, tam efficax dedit, ut antequam poculum Britannicus exhauriret, in convivio Neronis expiraret.

Nero 33. 2. 3, Britannicum non minus aemulatione vocis, quae illi iucundior suppetebat, quam metu ne quandoque apud hominum gratiam paterna memoria praevaleret, veneno adgressus est. Quod acceptum a quadam Lucusta, venenariorum indice, cum opinione tardius cederet ventre modo Britannici moto, arcessitam mulierem sua manu verberavit arguens pro veneno remedium dedisse; excusantique minus datum ad occultandam facinoris invidiam: "Sane," inquit,"legem Juliam timeo," coegitque se coram in cubiculo quam posset velocissimum ac praesentaneum coquere. Deinde in haedo expertus, postquam is quinque horas protraxit, iterum ac saepius recoctum porcello obiecit; quo statim exanimato inferri in triclinium darique cenanti secum Britannico imperavit et cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset, comitiali morbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere.

Dio (Xiph.) 61. 7, *τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν φαρμάκῳ δολοφονήσας ὁ Νέρων.*

Ael. *Hist. Nat.* 5. 29, *Μυρίοι γοῦν καὶ πίνοντές τι κακὸν κατέπιον ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐσθίοντες, ὡς Κλαύδιος, ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, καὶ Βρεταννικός, ὁ τούτου παῖς καὶ κατακοιμηθέντες οὐκ ἐξανέστησαν χρήσει φαρμάκου, οἱ μὲν ἑκόντες τοῦτο σπάσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιβουλευθέντες.*

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account of this incident especially mentions that Britannicus and the children of the court were sitting at a separate table, according to an ancient custom. Suetonius elsewhere testifies to this practice under Augustus and Claudius (*Aug.* 64.3; *Claud.* 32.), but he can hardly be said to contradict himself by the use of *cubans* here, since Britannicus was poisoned under Nero (*Nero* 33. 2, 3.). In the passage in the life of Nero where he describes the incident, he uses the expression, *cenanti secum Britannico* (*Nero* 33. 2, 3.) which leaves the question open. Britannicus was almost old enough to receive the *toga virilis* before the death of Claudius (*Claud.* 43.). In view of the ill-treatment we are told he received after Agrippina came into power and secured Nero's adoption (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 26. 2.), it would not be surprising if he had been kept at the children's table past the proper age, to add to his humiliation. It is possible that Suetonius used *cubans* in a general sense for *dining*, making no particular point of his position (Alexander p. 18.), or Tacitus may have made his statement from his knowledge of the old custom with no evidence for the case in hand and without consideration of the age of Britannicus at the time.

(*8*) *gravique morbo adflictatus diu:* with this reading, *esse* is of course to be supplied with *adflictatus*, making it an infinitive dependent on *credatur*. The

QUORUM OMNIUM MOX MEMOR STATUAM EI AUREAM IN PALATIO (*9*) POSUIT ET ALTERAM EX EBORE EQUESTREM, QUAE CIRCENSI POMPA (*10*) HODIEQUE PRAEFERTUR, DEDICAVIT PROSECUTUSQUE EST (*11*).

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meaning of this reading is difficult; for it seems improbable that Suetonius would make a mere supposition on a matter so easily verified as a severe illness. Oudendorp emended by adding *sit* after *diu*. This makes good sense, "he was supposed to have tasted of the fatal draught and was afflicted for a long time with a severe illness"; but there is no palaeographic explanation of the loss. W. H. Alexander suggests that *que* was an interpolation influenced by the proximity of *quoque*. Reading without the *que*, *adflictatus* appears as a participle expressing the cause of the supposition that he had a taste of the fatal draught. This is undoubtedly the best suggestion yet made for this troublesome passage.

(*9*) The usual places for the statues of illustrious men (Friedl. *SG.* II[1] pp. 307–308.) in imperial times were the Forum (Dio 55. 10; Tac. *Ann.* 15. 72; only, however, for those who had had triumphal honors), the Capitoline area (Dio 55. 10; Tac. *Ann.* 15. 72.), and the Campus Martius (*Cal.* 34.1.). There seem to have been statues of orators also in the Library of Augustus (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 37. 3.). Suetonius tells us that the senate decreed the very rare honor of a statue *in Palatio* to Otho after he had rendered remarkable services to Claudius and so won his favor, senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, prosecutus est (*Otho* 1. 3.). Hofstee in his edition of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius says that this refers not to the palace of the prince, but to a *locus publicus in Monte Palatino* (Hofstee p. 57. ftn.) and mentions a passage in Tacitus giving an instance of the same honor. There we hear that Nero especially honored Tigellinus and Nerva in this way: ut super triumphalis in foro imagines apud Palatium quoque effigies eorum sisteret (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 72. 2.). Now *Palatium* is used by Suetonius either for the palace of the Emperor which had been on the Palatine (*Tib.* 54. 2; *Cal.* 14. 2; *Claud.* 18. 2 etc.) since the time of Augustus (*Aug.* 72. 1.) or for the Palatine Hill itself (*Aug.* 5; *Tib.* 5; *Cal.* 22. 2.) In the passage from Tacitus quoted above, *apud Palatium* seems much more likely to mean "in the palace." The only reason for taking the *in Palatio* of *Otho* 1.1 as "on the Palatine" is that the senate would not be expected to decide on the setting up of statues in the residence of the prince, but their regular function was to decide on the erection of such in public places (Momm. *St. R.* III. p. 1185 ff.). In view of the fact that there is no evidence in regard to any "locus publicus" on the Palatine where statues were set up, it seems better to suppose *in Palatio* to mean "in the palace" even in the case of Otho, when the senate gave him the honor at the instance of the emperor. It is no more difficult to magine an exception to the usual practice in this decree than to base belief in a place for the erection of honorary statues on the Palatine on this one passage.

(*10*) A very elaborate description of the parade which was held before the Games of the Circus is given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He informs us that at the end of the long procession of magistrates, citizens, youths in the ranks of cavalry and infantry, the performers in the games, dancers, and musicians there were borne along on the shoulders of men, images and insignia of the gods, not only the twelve great gods of the Greeks, but also the minor divinities and

demigods (Dionys. Hal. 7. 72.). Julius Caesar was accorded the honor of having his statue among the images in this procession (*Jul.* 76. 1; Cic. *Att.* 13. 44. 1; Dio 43. 45.). After him dead emperors and members of the imperial family were honored in the same way (*Claud.* 11. 2; Dio 59. 13.).

(*11*) *prosequi* in Suetonius most commonly means "to attend" and this is the meaning here: "Titus dedicated and attended the statue in the procession of the games." There are many instances of the word in that sense. It is used of those attending on the general in his triumph (*Jul.* 49. 4; *Tib.* 2. 4, 20; *Nero* 2.1.), on the corpse at a funeral (*Cal.* 13.), on a golden shield in an annual honorific procession to the Capitol (*Cal.* 16. 4.), as well as of those attending travelers as they set out on a journey, "to see them off" (*Cal.* 4; *Jul.* 71; *Tib.* 10.2.). Suetonius also uses the word figuratively "*to follow* with a tearful gaze" (*Tib.* 7.3.), "*to add* a Greek phrase" (Graeca . . . voce prosecutus, *Claud.* 43.), "*to attend* with good wishes" (*Claud.* 27. 2; *Aug.* 57.2.) etc. From these meanings it comes to mean "bestow", and some have attempted so to interpret *prosecutus est* in our passage. This is illogical, for because of the original meaning of the word, when it is used in this sense, it must be attended by an ablative of the thing bestowed and an accusative of the person upon whom it is bestowed; cf. *Otho* 1. 3, namque et senatus honore rarissimo . . . prosecutus est eum. The use of the perfect tense shows that the attendance on the statue in the procession took place only once, presumably on the occasion of its dedication.

III. In puero statim corporis animique dotes (*1*) explenduerunt (*2*), magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus: forma egregia et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset (*3*) quam gratiae, praecipuum robur (*4*), quanquam neque procera statura (*5*) et ventre paulo proiectiore (*6*); memoria (*7*) singularis, docilitas ad omnis fere tum belli tum (*8*) pacis artes (*9*).

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 2, a puero praeclaris studiis probitatis, militiae litterarum instantissime deditus, quo contenderit, animi et corporis muneribus ostendit.

(Cf. Einhard. 18, cuius animi dotes . . .)

Sil. 3. 603, Tum iuvenis, magno praecellens robore mentis.

(*1*) *dotes:* cf. *Cal.* 3.1, *corporis animique virtutes.* All the other instances of the use of this word in Suetonius are in the singular and have the literal meaning, "dower" (*Jul.* 1. 2; *Cal.* 42; *Nero* 28, etc.). The figurative use, where it may be interpreted to mean "endowment" or "gift" as here, is however quite common in classical and post-classical Latin (Cic. *de Orat.* 1. 234; Plin. *Epist.* 3. 3. 4; Ov. *Ars.* 2. 112.).

(*2*) *explenduerunt:* a very rare word, which literally means "to shine forth" and is used of fire (Sen. *Nat.* 2. 23.) and of the constellation Sirius (Plin. *Nat.* 11. 30.). In the figurative sense it appears only here and in Nepos's Life of Atticus (Nep. *Att.* 1. 3.), qua ex re in pueritia nobilis inter aequales ferebatur clariusque explendescebat, quam generosi condiscipuli animo aequo ferre possent.

(*3*) It is interesting to compare with this praise of Titus the statement of Tacitus in regard to Agricola (Tac. *Agr.* 9.), Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit, and Pliny's encomium of Trajan (Plin. *Paneg.* 4.), ut nihil severitati eius hilaritate, nihil gravitati simplicitate, nihil maiestati humanitate detrahitur.

(*4*) Without manuscript authority Oudendorp and Ernesti maintain that *praecipuum robur* has been transposed and should stand after *proiectiore,* where it would be grouped with the following characteristics. They do this on the ground that this makes the logical connection better and point out the contrast in chiastic order of *forma egregia* and *quamquam ventre paulo proiectiore* and *cui non minus auctoritatis* etc., and *quamquam neque procera statura.* The *ventre paulo proiectiore,* however, forms as good a contrast to *praecipuum robur,* and the text as it stands gives the good qualities and the conceded defects respectively in the normal order and should not be changed.

(Einhard. 22, venterque proiectior).

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1, decor oris cum quadam maiestate.

(*5*) Augustus so valued tall stature that he attempted to improve on nature by the use of high-soled boots, calciamentis altiusculis ut procerior quam erat videretur (*Aug.* 73.) and Pliny mentions *proceritas corporis* among the many attributes of Trajan (Plin. *Paneg.* 4.).

(*6*) Suetonius uses almost the same expression of Nero (*Nero* 51), *ventre proiecto;* cf. *venter obesus*. *Vit.* 17, and *obesitas ventris*, *Dom.* 18.

(*7*) The archetype reads *memoriae*, which appears in all the MSS. except π' and Q, where *memoria* is found. Oudendorp suggested *memoria et*. A genitive of quality is impossible here, as the other attributes of Titus are in the nominative. The *et* of Oudendorp's emendation would be very peculiar, as there are no other connectives joining the points in this description and so it is better to follow the MSS. which read *memoria*.

(*8*) Schmaltz (Schmaltz, *Syntax* p. 499 § 249, Müller's *Handbuch* II.2.) maintains that *tum . . . tum* mean only "now . . . now," that where "as well . . . as also (especially)" is required, *cum . . . tum* should be restored in our texts. *Tum . . . tum* however is not in use before Cicero. The usage in Suetonius seems to bear out the statement of Schmaltz. With one exception, in every instance where *cum . . . tum* is well attested by the manuscripts the meaning is "as well . . . as also." (*Jul.* 75. 1; *Nero* 46. 1; *Jul.* 3; *Vit.* 4; *Dom.* 12. 3; *Gram.* 23.) In Suet. *Rhet.* 1, nam et dicta praeclare per omnes figuras, per casus et apologos aliter atque aliter exponere, et narrationes cum breviter ac presse tum latius et uberius explicare consuerant, the meaning of the correlatives seems to be the same as in the passage which follows shortly, quaedam etiam ad usum communis vitae instituta tum utilia et necessaria, tum perniciosa et supervacanea ostendere, in which the manuscripts read *dum . . . dum*, but all editors emend to *tum . . . tum*. Although manuscript evidence can have little weight in the argument for *tum . . . tum* or *cum . . . tum*, Bentley seems to be wrong in emending all instances of *tum . . . tum* to *cum . . . tum*, for in this passage and in *Nero* 1. 2, tum Lucios, tum Gnaeos, the force is clearly "now . . . now," practically "both . . . and." Both the passages quoted above from the *de Rhet.* have the same meaning and in view of the meaning of *cum . . . tum* in all other passages in Suetonius, *tum . . . tum* was perhaps what Suetonius wrote in both of them.

(*9*) Besides those arts of peace which are discussed by Suetonius more fully below, Titus seems to have had some interest in art. At least Pliny (Plin. *Nat.* 34. 55; 36. 37.) refers to sculptures in the house of Titus, the Laocoon and a statue by Polycleitus.

2. Armorum et equitandi peritissimus (*10*), Latine Graeceque (*11*) vel in orando vel in fingendis poematibus promptus et facilis ad extemporalitatem usque (*12*);

Eutr. 7. 21. 1, Facundissimus . . . causas Latine egit, poemata et tragoedias Graece composuit. (cf. Einhard. 25, Latinam ita didicit, ut aeque illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus.)

Suid. *s. v.* Τίτος, *εὐγλωττότατός τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμικώτατος καὶ μετριώτατος ἦν, καὶ τῇ μὲν Λατίνων ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ πρὸς τὰς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχρῆτο διοικήσεις, ποιήματα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ διεπονεῖτο.*

Plin. *Nat.* praef. §5, Fulgurat in ullo umquam verius dicta vis eloquentiae tribuniciae potestatis facundiae? Quanto tu ore patris laudes tonas! quanto fratris amas! quantus in poetica es! O magna fecunditas animi! quemadmodum fratrem quoque imitareris excogitasti. cf. *Dom.* 2. 2.

Plin. *Nat.* 2. 89, Acontiae iaculi modo vibrantur, ocissimo significatu. Haec fuit de qua quinto consulatu suo Titus imperator praeclaro carmine perscripsit ad hunc diem novissime visa. §117 nunc vero pace tam festa, tam gaudente proventu rerum artiumque principe . . .

(*10*) Cf. *Jul.* 57, where praise in the same terms is accorded Caesar.

(*11*) Two of the manuscripts have *lingu*ę after *graecęque*, and Lipsius emended this to *Latina Graecaque lingua.* In view of *Dom.* 4. 4, certabant enim et prosa oratione Graece Latineque . . . and of the better manuscript reading, it is certainly preferable to print the adverbs. The old fashioned feeling that a Roman should not know too much Greek—ut quisque optime Graece sciret, ita esse nequissimum (Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 265.)—had long since disappeared. Tiberius wrote poems (*Tib.* 70. 2.) in that language, Claudius wrote histories (*Claud.* 42. 2.) and Vespasian used Greek verses in his witticisms (*Vesp.* 23.). Suetonius tells of Claudius, Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti: "Cum utroque," inquit, "sermone nostro sis paratus (*Claud.* 42.1)." Tiberius avoided scrupulously the use of Greek in the senate (*Tib.* 71.); but Claudius made no such restriction and replied to envoys there in that tongue (*Claud.* 42. 1.).

(*12*) *extemporalitas*: cf. *Aug.* 84, *extemporali facultate.* Although this is an *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, there is no difficulty in understanding its meaning nor any reason for attempting to omit the phrase. It is perfectly natural that an abstract should have developed from the adjective *extemporalis*—a word which is fairly common in Quintilian (Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.15, 10.7.16, 11.2.3.) and appears also in Petronius (Petron. 6.) and Martial (Mart. 5.54.1.). The adjective is itself derived from the phrase *ex tempore* which Cicero uses (Cic. *de Orat.* 3.194; cf. *Tib.* 70. 1; *Aug.* 84.2, 98.4.). An adverb *extemporaliter* (Sidon. *Epist.* 9.14.) also is found. The fact that the phrase was omitted in two of the manuscripts (Π Q) was probably due to the scribes' unfamiliarity with it.

SED NE MUSICAE QUIDEM RUDIS, UT QUI CANTARET ET PSALLERET IUCUNDE SCIENTERQUE (*13*).

E PLURIBUS COMPERI (*14*), NOTIS QUOQUE EXCIPERE VELOCISSIME SOLITUM (*15*), CUM AMANUENSIBUS (*16*) SUIS PER LUDUM IOCUMQUE

(*13*) On the gradual wearing down of the Roman prejudice against music (Nep. praef. 1; Cic. *Cat.* 2.23; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.33.) as an accomplishment of a free man, cf. Friedl. *SG.* II[7] 363-368. Among the emperors who were proficient in this art were Hadrian (Iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se ferebat, Spart. *Hadr.* 14.9.), Commodus (Lampr. *Comm.* 1.8.), Alexander Severus (Lampr. *Alex.* 27.5-10.) and Caracalla (Dio 77. 13.), to say nothing of the notorious example of Nero. Britannicus had such a good voice that he aroused the envy of that emperor (*Nero* 33.2.). Piso, the leader of the conspiracy of 65, was a skilful musician; and the praise rendered him in a poem of uncertain authorship may serve as a fitting expression of the changed sentiment of the imperial times in this matter:

Sive chelyn digitis et eburno verbere pulsas,
Dulcis Apollinea sequitur testudine cantus
Et te credibile est Phoebo didicisse magistro.
Ne pudeat pepulisse lyram, cum pace serena
Publica securis exultent otia terris,
Ne pudeat: Phoebea chelys sic creditur illis
Pulsari manibus, quibus et contenditur arcus;
Sic movisse fides saevus narratur Achilles . . . .
(*Laus Pis.* 166-173, Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* I. pp. 221 ff.)

The word *psallere* (Saalfeld *s.v.*) is from the Greek ψάλλω which originally meant "to touch sharply," and was used of playing on a stringed instrument, most commonly the cithara. It is used also of singing to the accompaniment of the cithara, and this is its usual meaning (Gell. 19. 9; Prud. *Perist.* 10. 837; Apul. *Flor.* 15; Keil, *Gram. Lat.* II. p. 527.).

(*14*) Cf. *Nero* 29, ex nonnullis comperi.

(*15*) Suetonius tells us that Caesar (*Jul.* 56. 6, 7.) and Augustus (*Aug.* 88.) wrote *per notas*, but in both instances the reference is undoubtedly to cipher writing. Here, however, it seems probable that shorthand is meant. Isidorus (Isid. *Orig.* 1.22. 1.) speaks of *notae* of this kind as follows: Vulgares notas Ennius primus mille et centum invenit. Notarum usus erat ut quidquid pro con(ten)tione aut (in) indiciis diceretur, librarii scriberent complures simul astantes, divisis inter se partibus quot quisque verba et quo ordine exciperet. Romae primus Tullius Tiro Ciceronis libertus commentus est notas, sed tantum praepositionum. Post eum, Vipsanius, Philargius, et Aquila libertus Maecenatis alius alias addiderunt. Deinde Seneca contractu omnium digestoque et aucto

CERTANTEM, IMITARIQUE CHIROGRAPHA *(17)* QUAECUMQUE VIDISSET, AC SAEPE PROFITERI MAXIMUM FALSARIUM *(18)* ESSE POTUISSE.

numero, opus efficit in quinque milia. Notae autem dictae eo quod verba vel syllabas praefixis characteribus notent et ad notitiam legentium revocent; quas qui didicerunt proprie iam notarii appellantur. Plutarch (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 23.) says there had been no shorthand writing before Cicero's consulship, while Dio (Dio 55. 7.) assigns the origin of the art to Aquila. Seneca (Sen. *Epist.* 90. 25.) probably refers to the same fact: Quid verborum notas, quibus quam vis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur. Vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt. The *Notae Tironianae*, as they were called, consisted not of conventional signs, but of letters reduced to their most simple element. Usually two characters were needed for a word, one for the root and another for the termination. All the letters had two forms, one for the roots from capitals, one for the termination from the cursive. Diacritical marks also were used (Thompson, *Introd. to Gk. and Latin Palaeography* p. 73; Darem. & Saglio *s.v.* Tachygraphie.).

There are many references to the speed of writing. Martial (Mart. 14. 208.) perhaps refers to the use of shorthand where he says of a *notarius*:

> currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis
> nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus

Manilius (Manil. 4. 197.) explains the speed of the writer:

> Hinc et scriptor erit velox, cui littera verbum est,
> Quique notis linguam superet, cursimque loquentes,
> Excipiet longas nova per compendia voces.

Ausonius (Auson. 146. p. 12 Peiper.) addresses a—

> Puer, notarum praepetum
> Sollers minister . . .

who he says can write down his thoughts even before they are uttered.

(16) *Amanuensis*, which means the same as *servus a manu* (*Jul.* 74; *Vesp.* 3; *Aug.* 67. 2.) appears only here and in *Nero* 44, with the exception of two passages in legal Latin (Paul. *Sent.* 3. 6. 70; *Cod. Theod.* 9. 19. 1.).

(17) *Chirographum* is used by Suetonius in three senses: handwriting, as here, and in the Life of Augustus, where he tells us that that Emperor taught his grandchildren many things, ac nihil aeque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum (*Aug.* 64.3; 87.3), and in a passage in the Life of Nero where he speaks of verses written in the handwriting of Nero, cum quibusdam notissimus versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis (*Nero* 52.); something written in one's own handwriting (e. g., *Tit.* 6.2; *Cal.* 24.3.); finally a written agreement or statement in one's own handwriting (e. g., *Cal.* 12.2; *Jul.* 17.1, *Dom.* 1.1.).

(*18*) A *falsarius* was a forger. There are many references to this form of crime, particularly to the forging of wills (Cic. *Cluent.* 44. 125; *Off.* 3. 73.). Justinian tells of the law: Item lex Cornelia de falsis, quae etiam testamentaria vocatur, poenam irrogat ei, qui testamentum vel aliud instrumentum falsum scripserit, signaverit, recitaverit, subiecerit quive signum adulterinum fecerit, sculpserit, expresserit sciens dolo malo. Eiusque legis poena in servos ultimum supplicium est (quod etiam in lege de sicariis et veneficis servatur), in liberos vero deportatio (*Inst. Just.* 4. 18. 8.). Nero made special regulations in regard to the form of wills, (*Nero* 17; Paul. *Sent.* 5. 25. 6.) *adversus falsarios* as Suetonius says, and Claudius at the suggestion of a bystander had one such criminal summarily punished by having his hands cut off (*Claud.* 15. 2.). Tertullian in his rebuttal of the argument of the makers of idols, that every man should work for his living with his hands, mentions as handicrafts which are not honest, the work of thieves, and that of robbers; and finally, item falsarios utique non pedibus, sed manibus operari malas litteras (Tert. *Idol.* 5.).

IV. Tribunus militum et in Germania (*1*) et in Britannia meruit (*2*) summa industriae nec minore modestiae fama (*3*),

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 77, (Words of Mucianus when urging Vespasian to assume the principate.) tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo iuvenes capax iam imperii alter et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus.

Eutr. 7. 21. 1, Bellicosissimus, moderatissimus.

Dio 60. 30, *Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ περιστοιχηθέντος τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ κινδυνεύοντος φθαρῆναι, ὁ Τίτος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῷ πατρὶ δείσας τήν τε περίσχεσιν αὐτῶν παραλόγῳ τόλμῃ διέῤῥηξε, κἀκ τούτου φεύγοντάς σφας ἐπιδιώξας ἔφθειρεν.*

Suid. *s. v.* *Τίτος, οὕτως ἦν μέτριος καὶ σωφροσύνης μεστός.*

(*1*) Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa (P. W. VI², p. 2697.) states that Titus received the cognomen *Germanicus* because of this service in Germany, and cites a passage from Tacitus (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 66, cf. 2. 59.) to prove the point. The reference given is clearly to the assignment of that title to the son of Vitellius. There is, however, one coin on which such a statement about Titus might be based with more probability; this reads *Imp. Caes. T. Vesp. Aug. Germ.* (Cohen I. p. 449. *Titus* n. 241.). He could hardly have been given this honor for services as a tribune of the soldiers at the time when his family was of no particular importance. If this one coin may be considered proof that he bore the title, it seems likely that the honorary appellation was given him after his accession, in memory of his prowess in his early military service.

(*2*) The gallant rescue of Vespasian by Titus in Britain, which is recorded in the passage from Dio quoted above is recounted in the midst of the events of 47, when Titus was eight years old (cf. n. on birth-year of Titus, ch. I.). Of course, this is incorrect. Dio seems to have put a current tale that Titus saved his father's life upon one occasion in the wrong setting, for Titus could not have been in Britain with his father, who served there before his consulship in 51 (*Vesp.* 4. 1, 2.).For the omission of *stipendium* with *meruit* cf. *Jul.* 3.

(*3*) The reading given above is that of some of the more recent MSS. (ς). Although the archetype reads *summae industriae (summa industriae* Π′ Q ς vulg.), *modestia et fama* (*et fama* omitted by N), all editors have followed the reading in our text. The combination of the genitive and ablative of description joined by a connective would not be in accordance with the usage of Suetonius. Besides, the sense requires not an expression descriptive of Titus, but an ablative of manner. Moreover it is the custom of Suetonius to include limiting genitives between an adjective and a noun; cf. *Aug.* 21. 3, qua virtutis moderationisque fama, and *Dom.* 9, immo e diverso magna saepe non obstinentiae modo, sed etiam liberalitatis experimenta.

SICUT APPARET STATUARUM ET IMAGINUM EIUS MULTITUDINE ET TITULIS PER UTRAMQUE PROVINCIAM (*4*). POST STIPENDIA FORO OPERAM DEDIT (*5*) HONESTAM MAGIS QUAM ASSIDUAM, EODEMQUE TEMPORE ARRECINAM (*6*) TERTULLAM, PATRE EQ. R. SED (*7*) PRAE-

Tac. *Hist.* 4. 68, Arrecinum Clementem, domui Vespasiani per adfinitatem innexum.

(*4*) In his dissertation on *The Epigraphic Sources of Suetonius* (p. 53), Dr. Dennison says in regard to this statement, "Not a single honorary inscription erected to Titus has thus far been found in Britain. The only three from that country that mention his name are on pigs of lead. From Germany, only one is reported by Brambach, *CIRH*. Add. 2040. Suetonius knew of the existence of these *tituli*, very likely from the reports of the transactions of the Senate, preserved in the public archives."

Stahr in his translation of Suetonius (p. 515 n. 1) comments on this as striking testimony to the great number of honorary inscriptions at this period, since Titus, who was only twenty years old and a military tribune, had a *multitudo* of them in his honor. Weynand's suggestion (P. W. VI. 2. p. 2697) is more probable, that whatever these statues and inscriptions may have been, it is hardly likely that they were set up before the time of the Flavian rule.

(*5*) Although there are no other references to Titus's activity in the law-courts, it is probable that the allusion here is to the pleading of cases. *Forum* is used by metonymy for the activities of the forum, i.e., either the practice of law or business(Nep. *Cato* 1, *Att.* 10; *Nero* 7; Cic. *Epist.* 5. 8.). Ovid (Ov. *Rem.* 165.) uses the same expression where the context shows undoubtedly that the pursuit of the lawyer's profession is meant,

Sive operam bellis vellet dare, nulla gerebat;
Sive foro, vacuum litibus Argos erat.

In view of the use of the word in this passage in Ovid and the fact that the road to office was through service as advocate, it seems reasonable to interpret the phrase "he pleaded in the Forum, rather for glory than as a profession" (Rolfe, *Suet.* II p. 325.).

(*6*) *Arrecinam* is the emendation of Roth for *adrecidiam* (arr-. Π R) of the archetype. The father of Arrecina Tertulla was M. Arrecinus Clemens, a Roman knight and prefect of the praetorian guard under Gaius (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 68; Jos. *Ant.* 19.1.6.). Her brother, Arrecinus Clemens, was made prefect of the praetorian guard by Mucianus, as Tacitus tells us (Tac. *Hist.*. 4. 68.), to pacify Domitian, who was angry because Varus had been removed from the office and who was very fond of Clemens. He was a senator and later served twice as consul, once as suffect in 73 (Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imp. Rom.*), and again with M. Baebius Honoratus in a year which is uncertain (*CIL.* XII. 3637.); and he finally was put to death by Domitian (*Dom.* 11. 1.). Two inscriptions (*CIL.* VI. 12355, 12357.) to freedmen bearing the name of Arrecina Tertulla are in existence, but add nothing to our knowledge of her. cf. *Prosop.* s. vv.

(*7*) Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 1.1, quae familia equestri, sed admodum dives. In each case *sed* implies an "only" with the preceding phrase, e.g., "the daughter of a man who was only a Roman knight, but once prefect of the praetorian guards."

FECTO QUONDAM PRAETORIANARUM COHORTIUM, DUXIT UXOREM ET IN DEFUNCTAE LOCUM MARCIAM FURNILLAM *(8)* SPLENDIDI GENERIS; CUM QUA SUBLATA *(9)* FILIA *(10)* DIVORTIUM FECIT.

(8) Marcia Furnilla was the granddaughter of Q. Marcius Barea C. f. C. n. consul suffectus (*CIL.* VI. 244.) and proconsul of Africa (*CIL.* VIII. 11002.), the daughter of Q. Marcius Barea Sura Q. f. C. n. C. et Gemini Artori pronepos and Antonia Furnilla (Dessau 953.). Perhaps *Barea Soranus*, who was consul designatus in 52 (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 53.2.), proconsul of Asia in 61-62 and accused by Ostorius Sabinus and put to death with his daughter in 66(Tac. *Ann.* 16. 21.1, 23.1, 30-33; *id. Hist.* 4. 10. 40; Dio 62, 26.) was her uncle. This is at least probable, as we know that he was a friend of Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* 4.7.).

(9) Perhaps *sublata filia* has concessive force, "although she bore him a daughter, he divorced her." One of the reasons for divorce given in the Digest (24.1.60.1) is *sterilitas*. Gellius (4.3.2; cf. also Val. Max. 2.1.4) tells of the first case among the Romans, that of Spurius Carvilius in 523 A.U.C. who divorced his wife, quia liberi ex ea corporis vitio non gignerentur. For the freedom of divorce among the Romans, cf. Darem. et Saglio *s.v. divortium.*

(10) *Julia*, the daughter of Titus and Marcia Furnilla, was born on August 11th, the date of Titus's capture of Jerusalem (*Prosop.* II. p. 82. *s.v. Julia Flavia* ; *Tit.* 5.2., cf. n.). The year of her birth is uncertain. She bore the title of Augusta during her father's lifetime (Eckhel VI. pp. 365-366; *Act. Arv.* Jan. 3, 81; *CIL.* IX. 2588, X. 1632.) and after his death (Eckhel p. 366; *CIL.* V. 4313.). She had died, and was deified by Domitian before the end of 91 A. D. (Mart. 6.3.6, 6.13, 9.1.7; *CIL.* IX. 1153; Eckhel p. 366.). Philostratus speaks of Julia as one of the daughters of Titus (Philost. *Apoll.* 7.7.), but there is no evidence that he had any others. Suetonius (*Dom.* 22.) says that Julia was offered in marriage to Domitian, but because of an entanglement with Domitia he refused her. Later when she was married to Sabinus he seduced her and killed her husband (Philost. *Apoll.* 77.). This was during her father's lifetime and after his death Domitian had her in the palace as his mistress (*Dio* 67. 3.). We are told that he was the cause of her death (Plin. *Epist.* 4.11.6; Juv. 2.29-33; *Dom.* 22.). She was buried in the temple of the Flavian Gens, and Phyllis, the nurse of Domitian, mingled his ashes with hers (*Dom.* 17.3.).

Ex quaesturae (*11*) deinde honore legioni praepositus (*12*) Tarichaeas (*13*) et Gamalam (*14*) urbes Iudaeae (*15*) validissimas in potestatem redegit, equo quadam acie sub feminibus

Vesp. 4. 6, (Acts of Vespasian after his appointment by Nero as commander of the forces in Judaea)—atque inter legatos maiore filio assumpto.

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 8, ad hos Vespasianus, a Nerone missus, Titum filium suum maiorem inter legatos habuit.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3. 1. 3, ὁ (Vespasian) δ' ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αχαίας ἔνθα συνῆν τῷ Νέρωνι, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ' 'Αλεξανδρείας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔπειθεν ἀναστήσοντα τάγμα . . .

Heges. 3. 3, ille (Vespasianus) propere, neque enim differendi tempus dabatur, misso Alexandriam filio Tito ut inde militum qui praetendebant partem aliquam diduceret. . . .

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3. 10. I. 462, ἔπειτα (Vespasian) προελθὼν αὐτῆς τε μεταξὺ καὶ Ταριχαιῶν στρατοπεδεύεται, τειχίζει τε τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀχυρωτέραν ὑφορώμενος ἐκεῖ πολέμου τριβὴν αὐτῷ γενησομένην. . . . § 464, ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις, ὥσπερ ἡ Τιβεριὰς ὑπώρειος οὖσα, καθ' ἃ μὴ τῇ λίμνῃ προσεκλύζετο, πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ιωσήπου τετείχιστο καρτερῶς, ἔλαττον μέντοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος. . . .

§ 470, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἠθροισμένον ἀκούων ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ, πέμπει τὸν υἱὸν σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ἐπιλέκτοις. ὁ δὲ ὑπέρογκον εὑρὼν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πληθὺν πρὸς μὲν τὸν πατέρα πέμπει πλείονος δυνάμεως αὐτῷ δεῖν λέγων, . . § 487, ὁ δὲ Τίτος πρῶτος τὸν ἵππον ἤλαυνεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ σὺν κραυγῇ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποί, παρεκτείναντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ὅσον ἐπεῖχον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πεδίον, παρὸ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἔδοξαν. . . § 491, πᾶσι δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος φυγὰς ὑπετέμνετο καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἀπέστρεφεν, ἕως τῷ πλήθει βιασάμενοι καὶ διεκπεσόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνέφευγον. . . § 497, ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναπηδᾷ, καὶ καθηγεῖται πρὸς τὴν λίμνην, δι' ἧς ἐλάσας πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται,

(*11*) Titus must have been quaestor in 65 A. D. for in 67 he was sent by his father as *legatus legionis* to Alexandria. (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3.1.3).

(*12*) Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa (P. W. IV² p. 2698) refers to Tac. *Hist.* 5. 1 in this connection; but the reference there is certainly to the year 69, when Vespasian on going to Rome to establish his power left Titus in command of his forces. The name Caesar Titus shows this, as well as the context.

(*13*) Tarichaea, (*thracias* Ω, *thacias* G, *trachias* Π R; *Taricheas* emendation of Ursinus) is a city in Lower Galilee at the foot of a mountain at the southern end of the lake of Tiberias, 30 stadia from Tiberias. It was said to have derived its name from extensive plants for salting fish (Strabo 16.2.45, p. 764). This

καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποί. δέος δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐνέπεσε καὶ μάχεσθαι μὲν ἢ διακωλύειν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενε, λιπόντες δὲ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν 'Ιησοῦν διὰ τῆς χώρας ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταθέοντες ὑπαντιάζουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέπιπτον. ἐκτείνοντο δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες τῶν σκαφῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀναχθεῖσι προσπίπτειν πειρώμενοι. . . § 503, *Τίτος δ' ἐκπέμψας τινὰ τῶν ἱππέων εὐαγγελίζεται τῷ πατρὶ τοὔργον.* cf. Heges. 3. 23-25.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 1. 10 § 70, *Τίτος δ' (ἤδη γὰρ παρῆν) ὀργῇ τῆς πληγῆς* (cf. Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 1. 1-9) *ἣν παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπλήγησαν ἀπόντα 'Ρωμαῖοι, τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιλέξας διακοσίους, πρὸς οἷς καὶ πεζούς, εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡσυχῇ. καὶ παρελθόντος οἱ μὲν φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι μετὰ βοῆς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, δήλης δὲ τῆς εἰσβολῆς ταχέως καὶ τοῖς εἴσω γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἁρπάζοντες τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπισυρόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέφευγον μετὰ κωκυτοῦ καὶ βοῆς, οἱ δὲ τὸν Τίτον ὑπαντιάζοντες ἀδιαλείπτως ἔπιπτον,* . . . § 73, *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀναφεύγοντας εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἐπεβοήθει Οὐεσπασιανὸς πᾶσαν εἰσαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν.*

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city was strongly fortified by Josephus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3.10.1.). Ruins of the ancient city stand upon a bit of rising ground, called Kerak, where at present there is a Moslem village. Its location was very suitable for defense according to ancient modes of warfare, for the eminence stands in the space between the lake and the river Jordan, which on issuing from the lake runs first south for a furlong and then turns west for half a mile (Ed. Robinson, *Biblical Research* 2nd ed. II p. 387). Josephus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3.10.) tells of Titus's good leadership in this battle, how when the Romans who were building a camp were attacked by the inhabitants, he was sent to disperse them with six hundred horse, and with reinforcements succeeded in driving the defenders from the walls. Sounds of discord within the city led him then to continue the attack. He exhorted the soldiers to bravery and with much personal courage took the city and sent word to his father of his success. Vespasian, as our historian tells us, *ὡς εἰκός, ὑπερησθεὶς τῇ τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ κατορθώματι,* (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3.10.6), proceeded to follow up the victory by a naval battle with the fugitives on the lake. Of the captives he had all the old men and the useless killed; he sent six thousand of the strongest to Nero to dig a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth and had thirty thousand, four hundred sold as slaves. This barbarity was committed by Vespasian only upon the insistence of his friends and much against his will, if we may believe Josephus.

(*14*) *Gamala* was so called from the Hebrew word Gamal, i.e., Latin *Camelus* because of the shape of the hill on which it was situated (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4.1.1.). The site was forgotten until Lord Lindsay attempted to identify it with the steep hill to the east of the lake of Tiberias, opposite the city of that name. It is now called *El Hossn* and lies between the village of Feik and the shore, "having extensive ruins of buildings, walls, and columns on its top" (Burckhardt, *Syria* p. 278.). Lord Lindsay (Lindsay, Letters on Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land, p. 266. 5 ed. 1858) says, "the hill, at a distance, so strongly resembles the hump

AMISSO ALTEROQUE INSCENSO, CUIUS RECTOR (*16*) CIRCA (*17*) SE DIMICANS OCCUBUERAT (*18*).

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of a camel, that I think there can be no doubt of its being the ancient Gamala. It has been a place of tremendous strength and no slight importance. Valleys, deep and almost perpendicular, surrounded it on the north, east, and south. On the south side, the rock is scarped singularly for defence; on the east it is built up so as to bar all approach from below; to the south east a neck of land, of much lower elevation and scarped on both sides, connects it with the neighboring mountains and communicates by a steep descent with the southern valley. Travelers from the east and west appear to have met at this neck of land and thence ascended to the city."

Titus's part in the capture of this stronghold came after the Romans had suffered a serious reverse under his father (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4.1.3-6.) during his own absence on a mission into Syria to Mucianus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4.1.5. § 32.). Upon his return, induced by his anger at the blow that the army had received, he entered the city secretly by night with two hundred picked horsemen and some infantry and drove all the inhabitants to the citadel. This was only finally captured when the whole army of Vespasian had come to reinforce Titus. Josephus tells of a storm, divinely sent to the aid of the Romans in their dangerous ascent; this carried back the weapons of the defenders upon themselves and the struggle ended horribly; for a great many of the inhabitants threw themselves over the precipice to death. Josephus says that only four thousand of them perished at the hands of the Romans, while five thousand destroyed themselves in the manner mentioned above; as Josephus puts it, *συνέβη δὲ τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ὀργὴν τῆς εἰς αὑτοὺς ἀπονοίας τῶν ἁλόντων πρᾳοτέραν φανῆναι.* (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 1. 10.).

(*15*) Cf. E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People (Transl. Macpherson) Div. I, vol. II, p. 218 ff. for a description of the war in Galilee (67-68 A. D.).

(*16*) Heinsius emended *rector* to *vector*, which seems unjustifiable in the absence of manuscript authority. There is no instance of *vector* in this sense in Suetonius and *rector* is more commonly used in general for "rider" than *vector*. Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 65.6; cf. also Sil. 17. 137.) uses *rector:* simul haec et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disicere obvius, proterere iacentes. Lucan (Lucan. 7. 529.) uses *regens* in this sense. Of course, *rector* is frequently used of the driver of a chariot (Tac. *Agr.* 36; Curt. 8. 14. 9.).

(*17*) *circa* = *περί τινα* or *ἀμφί τινα*, commonly of servants or companions; *circum* is the older word, but Livy frequently uses *circa* (Thimm p. 42.).

(*18*) Suetonius uses *occumbere* in the sense of "to be slain, "always intransitively except in *Aug.* 13, voluntariam occubuisset necem.

V. GALBA MOX TENENTE REM P. (*1*) MISSUS AD GRATULANDUM, QUAQUE IRET CONVERTIT HOMINES (*2*), QUASI (*3*) ADOPTIONIS GRATIA ARCESSERETUR.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1, Titus Vespasianus, e Judaea incolumi adhuc Galba missus a patre, causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus iuventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 9. 2, *Οὐεσπασιανὸς τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατείαν, καραδοκῶν πρὸς τίνα ῥέψει τὸ κρατεῖν μετὰ* Νέρωνα· *αὖθις δὲ* Γάλβαν *ἀκούσας αὐτοκράτορα, πρὶν ἐπιστεῖλαί τι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κἀκεῖνον, οὐκ ἐπεχείρει, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν* Τίτον *ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ ληψόμενον τὰς περὶ* Ἰουδαίων *ἐντολάς. διὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας ἅμα* Τίτῳ *καὶ* Ἀγρίππας *ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς* Γάλβαν *ἔπλει.*

Zon. 11. 16, *τῷ μὲν* Γάλβᾳ *αὐταρχήσαντι τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψε* Τίτον *προσεροῦντα αὐτόν. . . .*

Heges. 4. 21, unde sententiam novi principis de bello Judaeorum excitari Vespasiano consilium fuit misitque Titum filium et regem Agrippam.

(*1*) *rem publicam tenere:* This expression meaning "to be emperor" is also used in *Aug.* 8. 3, *rem p. tenuit.* Other phrases for this idea are *rerum potens* (*Jul.* 72.), *rerum potiturum* (*Aug.* 94. 2.), *in regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re p.* (*Aug.* 61.1.).

(*2*) *convertere* in the derived sense, "win over" or "attract the attention of," appears also in *Vesp.* 4. 6, proximas quoque provincias convertit in se, where, however, *in se* is found, which is lacking in the passage we have to consider. This verb is frequently used with *oculos* (Nep. *Alcib.* 3.5; Liv. 45. 19. 1, 26.29. 2; *Cal.* 35. 1.) as direct object with and without *in* or *ad se.* Livy is especially fond of the verb *convertere,* which he uses as in our passage, Inter multas Asiae Graeciaeque legationes Rhodiorum maxime legati civitatem converterunt (Liv. 45. 20. 4.), and again, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit (Liv. 1. 7. 7; cf. Liv. 3. 38. 8, 22. 51. 9; Stat. *Theb.* 10. 761.), as well as many times with *in se* or *ad se* (Liv. 21. 4. 1, 1.40. 5, etc.).

(*3*) *quasi* is used here in the rather uncommon sense of *quod,* with the subjunctive, introducing a reason assumed or quoted, not on the responsibility of the speaker.; cf. Gildersleeve and Lodge, Latin Grammar § 602. n. 4. Cf. also *Dom.* 10. 4.

SED UBI TURBARI RURSUS CUNCTA SENSIT, REDIT EX ITINERE, ADITOQUE PAPHIAE VENERIS ORACULO (*4*) DUM DE NAVIGATIONE CONSULIT, ETIAM DE IMPERII SPE CONFIRMATUS EST.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1, Ubi Corinthi, Achaiae urbe, certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbae et aderant qui arma Vitelli bellumque adfirmarent, anxius animo paucis amicorum adhibitis cuncta utrimque perlustrat; si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti, ac se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore; sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, sed incerta adhuc victoria et concedente in partes patre filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus rem p. susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus. 2. His ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes vicit. Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; (neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum) . . . . Igitur oram Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas inde Suriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris, inclutum per indigenas advenasque.

4. Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consulit. Postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdoti id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 9. 2, *καὶ διὰ τῆς 'Αχαίας, (χειμῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα), μακραῖς ναυσὶ περιπλευόντων φθάνει Γάλβας ἀναιρεθεὶς μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας ἡμέρας· ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν Ὄθων ἀντιποιούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ μὲν οὖν 'Αγρίππας εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀφικέσθαι διέγνω μηδὲν ὀρρωδήσας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν· Τῖτος δὲ κατὰ δαιμόνιον ὁρμὴν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ελλάδος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἔπλει καὶ κατὰ τάχος εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.*

Zon. 11. 16, *ἐπανελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Τίτου ἐπεὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐμεμαθήκει τὴν τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπανάστασιν, πρὸς μοναρχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡρμήθη. [κατὰ τὸν Δίωνα].*

(*4*) Of the cult of Aphrodite at Paphos in Cyprus, Tacitus (Tac. *Hist.* 2.2, 3.) speaks as follows: Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam

Heges. 4. 21, Titus de Achaia revertit quod etiam Galba septimo mense ac die assumptae potestatis exutus insignibus poenas luisset in medio sinu urbis, id est in Romano foro et Otho potiretur rebus secundis ac successu imperiali. Agrippa Romam contendit, ut apud novum principem locaret gratiam. Tito pluris visa est paternae pietatis reverentia quam principalis potestatis, quod inconsulto patre si pertenderet, ne ipsi quidem principi placitum putaret. Certe exitus docuit opportune eum redisse ad patrem rebus novis et incertum quo vergerent.

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deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere. Conditorem templi regem Aëriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc adpulsam; sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere; tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur nec ullis imbribus, quanquam in aperto, madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens, sed ratio in obscuro. Tacitus mentions Aërias as the founder in the *Annals* also (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 62. 5.); but Pausanias (Pausan. 1. 14. 7, 8. 53. 7.) assigns its establishment to Laodice, daughter of Agapenor, and says that it was in origin the cult of the Assyrian Aphrodite Caelestis. Herodotus (Herod. 1. 105.) states that it was derived from the worship in Ascalon. It seems probable that Aphrodite of Paphos was introduced by the Phoenicians and is no other than their goddess Astarte, who was represented by a conical stone. The remains of the temple, which was situated on the southwest extremity of the island of Cyprus, show that there was a series of open courts surrounding a chapel in which was the image of the deity (Darem. et Saglio *s.v.* *Aphrodisia.*).

2. Cuius brevi compos (5) et ad perdomandam Iudaeam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum (6) oppugnatione (7) duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9. 11, Iudaeique (in pacem coacti) annitente filio Tito, quem transgrediens in Italiam reliquerat externae militiae.

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 9, relictoque in castris ad procurationem obsidionis Hierosolymorum filio Tito, per Alexandriam profectus est Romam.

Eutr. 7. 21. 2, In oppugnatione Hierosolymorum sub patre militans duodecim propugnatores duodecim sagittarum confixit ictibus.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 82, Titum instare Iudaeae, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti placuit.

4. 51, igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda.

5. 1, Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Iudaeae delectus a patre.

5. 10, simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utile videbatur.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 11. 5, *κεκυρωμένης δ' ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης καὶ σεσωσμένων παρ' ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων, Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπέστρεφεν· αὐτὸς μέντοι γε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμητο λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ τάχος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διῴκει, τὸν δ' υἱὸν Τίτον μετὰ τῆς ἐκκρίτου δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν ἐξαιρήσοντα τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.*

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 5. 6. 5, *καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν προμάχων ἀναιρεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τούτων πάθος ἐγκλίνοντος τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἑπόμενος συνελαύνει πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κἀκ τοῦ πυρὸς διασῴζει τὰ ἔργα.*

Euseb. *Chron.* (Schoene, II. p. 158), *Οὐεσπασιανὸς, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγχειρίσας πόλεμον Τίτῳ αὐτὸς δι' Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀφίκετο πόλιν.* (Chron. pasch. 461. 3) *Τίτος Ἰουδαίους πολιορκήσας καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατασκάψας καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐφόνευσε·*

Dio 66. 4, *ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ ἐπιταχθείς. . . . Καὶ μάχαις μὲν πρώταις ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνισάμενος, εἶτα κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.*

Suid. *s. v.* Τίτος, *Ἐπὶ δὲ Τίτου τούτου τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πολιορκοῦντος.*

Cedren. *Hist. Compend.* P 217 A, *Ἀνήχθη δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀναγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ βασιλεύς, καταλιπὼν Τίτον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν Παλαιστίνην πολιορκεῖν.*

(5) Some difficulty has been found with the phrase *cuius brevi compos,* on the ground that Titus was not in possession of the imperium before he went against the Jews. Ernesti goes so far as to suggest a different reading, *cuius*

EA (*8*) NATALI (*9*) FILIAE SUAE TANTO MILITUM GAUDIO AC FAVORE, UT IN GRATULATIONE IMPERATOREM (*10*) EUM CONSALUTAVERINT ET SUBINDE DECEDENTEM PROVINCIA (*11*) DETINUERINT, SUPPLICITER NEC NON ET (*12*) MINACITER EFFLAGITANTES, AUT REMANERET AUT SECUM OMNIS PARITER ABDUCERET (*13*).

Sil. 3. 605-606, (Titus) hic fera gentis
Bella Palestinae primo delebit in aevo.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 6. 10.1, Ἑάλω μὲν οὕτως Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ.

Dio 66. 7, οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν ἐξώλετο.

CIL. VI. 944—Newton 10, Senatus populusque Romanus Imp. Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f. Vespasiano Augusto, pontif. max., trib. pot. X, imp. XVII, cos. VIII, p. p., principi suo, quod praeceptis patriis consiliisq. et auspiciis, gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolyman, omnibus ante se ducibus, regibus, gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam, delevit.

Val. Flaccus. *Arg*. 1. 13-14,

. . . Solymo ac nigrantem pulvere fratrem
Spargentemque faces, et in omni turre furentem.

Suid *s. v.* Τίτος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾑρήκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Τίτος, . . .

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brevi compos factus est, sed ad. . . . The fallacy in the objection to the MSS. reading lies in the interpretation of *imperium* in the technical sense (Cf. the use of *imperium* in *Cal*. 8. 5.) and the idea that the antecedent of *cuius* is *imperii*, not *spe*. As soon as Vespasian was named emperor by the powerful armies of Syria and Egypt (*Vesp*. 6. 3, July 1, 69), Titus was in possession of the hope of rule, i.e., of succession. Cf. *Tib*. 11.1, ad occasionem maioris spei. In other words the Flavian dynasty was established in the closing months of 69, before Titus began the expedition against Jerusalem.

(*6*) Although *Hierosolyma, -ae* and *Hierusalem* (or Jerusalem), an indeclinable noun, are frequently found in MSS., (e.g., *Aug*. 93, where we read *apud Hierosolymam*), the most usual form of this word is the neuter plural, which we have here; so Dio and Josephus use τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(*7*) Cf. Schürer Div. I Vol. II p. 235 ff.

(*8*) All the MSS. except M have *eam*.

(*9*) Josephus names the 8th of Γορπιαῖος, the Macedonian month which approximately corresponds with September (Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* Div. I Vol. II Appendix III.), as the date of the fall of the city. The temple was taken on the tenth or eleventh of Λῷος, the preceding month, and it was upon the occasion of the capture of the temple that Titus was acclaimed *imperator*. To which occasion Suetonius refers is not clear; and the birthday of Julia can not be determined with certainty.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 6. 6. 1, *Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν καταπεφευγότων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καιομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἁπάντων, κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἄντικρυς ἔθυσάν τε αὐταῖς αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν Τίτον μετὰ μεγίστων εὐφημιῶν ἀπέφηναν αὐτοκράτορα.*

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 9, Itaque Titus imperator ab exercitu pronuntiatus. . . .

Cedren. *Hist. Compend.* P 217 A, *Οὗτος πολιορκεῖ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμπιπρᾷ, καθὼς Ἰώσηπος ἱστορεῖ.*

(*10*) This hailing of Titus as *imperator*, which Josephus also mentions, was in the fashion of the days of the republic, when it was the privilege of the soldiers after a victory to bestow this title on their victorious general. Tacitus speaks of the custom: Sed Tiberius pro confecto interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit, ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur; erantque plures simul imperatores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem. Concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaeso postremum (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 74. 6.). The confirmation of the senate was at this time necessary. Perhaps Philostratus refers to their action in this instance: *Ἀναρρηθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ* (Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 30.). Dio tells us, *καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφότεροι ἔλαβον* (Dio 66. 7.). Newton (Newton p. 11 n. 6, p. 4. n. 2.) showed that Titus used *imperator* only as a cognomen during his father's lifetime. The few instances where it appears as a praenomen were probably errors, and it never so appears on Roman inscriptions. (Cf. the discussion of this question in P. W. IX, *s.v. imperator* p. 1150, 52—1151, 53.). Titus received his first imperatorial salutation on the occasion of his receipt of the tribunician power, when Vespasian was hailed *imperator* for the seventh time. Dio Cassius tells of the fifteenth salutation of Titus, when Cn. Iulius Agricola was victorious in Britain (Dio 66. 20.).

(*11*) Judaea had been an imperial province of the second rank, (i.e., under a procurator, a man of equestrian rank appointed by the emperor), ever since 6 A. D., with the exception of the years 40-41, when the kingdom of Jerusalem was restored. Mommsen has shown that Josephus's statement that Judaea was attached to the province of Syria and placed under its governor, was probably incorrect. After the fall of Jerusalem, Judaea became a first-class imperial province with a *legatus* who had the Tenth Legion under his command. Its official title in the second century A. D. was *Syria Palestina*; its capital was Caesarea (Momms., *Provinces of the Roman Empire* ch. XI, Transl. Dickson Vol. II p. 201.).

(*12*) *nec non et* is equal to an emphatic *atque etiam*; cf. *Dom.* 14.1, *Vesp.* 8.2.

(*13*) For the subjunctive without *ut*, depending on *flagito*, cf. Kühner II. 2. § 185 2.b. *Flagito* (*efflagito*) is used by Suetonius also with the passive infinitive and subject accusative, *Claud.* 15.2, *Nero* 44.2. This also occurs in Cicero (*Epist.* 8.4.3) and elsewhere; cf. Kühner II.2. § 185. 2.c.

3. Unde nata suspicio (*14*) est, quasi desciscere a patre Orientisque sibi regnum vindicare temptasset (*15*); quam suspicionem auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens in consecrando apud Memphim bove Apide (*16*) diadema (*17*) gestavit, de more quidem rituque priscae religionis; sed non deerant qui sequius interpretarentur.

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 7. 5. 3, Τίτος δὲ τὴν προειμένην ποιούμενος πορείαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ᾗ τάχιστα διανύσας ἧκεν εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν.

(*14*) Suetonius alone mentions this suspicion and even he gives no hint that Vespasian had heard or believed the rumors. We know that Titus played an important part in the establishing of the Flavian dynasty because of his personal favor with Mucianus (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 5, 2. 77.). He also acted as agent in the transactions between his father and the powerful governor of Syria (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4. 1. 5.). This could make him an object of suspicion to his father, because Vespasian might have feared that so powerful a son would prove disloyal and wish to seize the full control of affairs. It is certain, however, that the new emperor preserved at least the semblance of absolute faith in his elder son. This is clear from the fact that he left Titus in charge of the legions in Judaea, which he certainly would not have done, if he had suspected Titus of wishing to seize the rule in the East. Tacitus points out his ulterior purpose in this act, simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utile videbatur (Tac. *Hist.* 5. 10.). We also learn that Titus was a great help to his father in settling affairs in Alexandria (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 5. 1. 1.), where Dio tells us that little respect was shown the new soldier emperor (Dio 66. 8.). If we may trust Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana (Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 30.), Titus was a model of filial devotion, and Tacitus (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 52.) tells an anecdote of Titus's intercession with his father in Domitian's behalf and adds: Vespasianus haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus quam Titi pietate gaudens. . . . If there was a rumor that Titus intended to revolt from his father, it was probably caused by the young prince's military successes in Judaea, by the acclaim of the soldiers at the fall of the Temple, and by the news of the embassies sent from other nations offering the conqueror crowns. Josephus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 7. 5. 2.) tells us in a matter of fact way that he accepted the crown from the ambassadors of Vologeses, but Apollonius (Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 29.) praises him highly for the refusal of such tributes. In either case probably little significance should be attached to the act, and from what we can find in all our sources we must judge this suspicion to be mere idle gossip.

(*15*) Trachmann (p. 16.) observes the use by Suetonius of *quasi* and the subjunctive where an infinitive with subject accusative would be expected. This is characteristic of Suetonius when he has a *rumor* (*Aug.* 14.), *opinio* (*Aug.* 6; *Tib.* 39.), *fama* (*Dom.* 22.), or *suspicio* (as here) to define and it has the effect of shirking all responsibility for the truth of the rumor or suspicion. This is a favorite construction with Suetonius, who prefers *quasi* to *tamquam* in this use, while of Tacitus the opposite is true (*ALL.* XI 1900 pp. 405-417, Bennett). Cf. *Tit.* 8. 1 for another example of this construction.

Quare festinans in Italiam, cum Regium, dein Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Romam (*18*) inde contendit expeditissimus inopinantique patri, velut arguens rumorum de se temeritatem: "Veni," inquit, "pater, veni."

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 7. 5. 3, *τοῦ πλοῦ δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν ἀνυσθέντος ὁμοίως μὲν ἡ 'Ρώμη περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε καὶ τὰς ὑπαντήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, λαμπρότερον δ' ἦν Τίτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαντῶν καὶ δεχόμενος· τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολιτῶν δαιμόνιόν τινα τὴν χαρὰν παρεῖχε τὸ βλέπειν αὐτοὺς ἤδη τοὺς τρεῖς ἐν ταὐτῷ γεγονότας.*

(*16*) The statements of ancient authorities are varied in regard to Apis, the bull of Memphis (Darem. et Saglio *s.v. Apis*). Ammianus (Amm. 22. 14. 7.) tells us that he was sacred to the moon, as Mnevis was sacred to the sun. Macrobius, however, states that he was the symbol of the sun (Macr. *Sat.* 1. 21. 20.). The most common opinion was that Apis was sacred to Osiris, the sun god. The signs by which the divine animal was recognized are much discussed. He was established, after consecration, in a wonderful palace in Memphis, where he received homage from the worshipers and his actions were interpreted as oracles. Pliny (Plin. *Nat.* 8. 184-186.) tells us that there were two *thalami* and according as he entered one or the other the signs were favorable or the reverse. This worship was probably kept up until the extinction of paganism (Spart. *Hadr.* 12.1; Min. Fel. 28. 9.). Augustus refused to do homage to this bull (*Aug.* 93.); but Germanicus is said to have consulted him shortly before his death and to have received bad signs (Plin. *Nat.* 8. 185.). It is hardly probable that Titus's action at this time would in itself give rise to any displeasure among the Romans. Exactly what the ceremony of consecration was we do not know; but Diodorus describes the keeping of the calf at Nilopolis for forty days and then its transportation in a gilded ship to a grove in Memphis (Diodor. Sic. 1. 85.).

(*17*) This form of band or fillet, originally worn around the tiara of the Persian king, later assumed by Alexander, was particularly displeasing to the Romans so long as a vestige of their democratic feelings remained. It was a *diadema* that Caesar refused at the Lupercalia (*Jul.* 79. 2.). Suetonius mentions as an act of regal usurpation that Claudius Drusus had a *statua diademata* set up to himself (*Tib.* 2.2.), and says that Gaius nec multum afuit quin statim diadema sumeret speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret (*Cal.* 22. 1.).

(*18*) By a careful calculation Chambalu has decided that Titus arrived at Rome, "somewhere about the middle of June A. D. 71" (*Philologus* Vol. 44 1885, pp. 507-517, Chambalu).

VI. NEQUE EX EO DESTITIT PARTICIPEM (*1*) ATQUE ETIAM TUTOREM (*2*) IMPERII AGERE (*3*).

Sil. 3. 603, Tum iuvenis. . . .
Excipiet patriam molem, celsusque feretur,
Aequatum imperio tollens caput:

Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 30, . . . *ἀπήει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί*, (later Titus says) . . . "*καὶ καλούμενος ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν πρὶν οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ ἀρχθῆναι εἰδέναι, δέδια μὴ μειζόνων, ἢ ἐμὲ χρή, ἅπτωμαι.*

Philost. *Apoll.* 7. 8, *τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρχεν.*

(*1*) The statements which follow explain the extent of Titus's participation in the power of his father. He was Vespasian's colleague in the tribunician power, seven consulships, and the censorship; he was also made praetorian prefect and allowed by his father to attend to many of the details of rule. To use the term joint emperor in this connection is misleading, for he certainly was not that in the full sense of the words (Newton, preface; Merivale Vol. VII. p. 42 gives as misleading an idea in different words; Momms. *St. R.* uses Mitregent consistently for the participation in rule of a designated successor and the Emperor, but speaks of the Sammtherrschaft of the two Augusti of the later period.). He was his father's successor (*Vesp.* 25.), named in his will (*Dom.* 2. 3.). Before his father's death he did not use the praenomen Imperator (n. on *imperatorem*, *Tit.* 5. 2.), nor was he called Augustus. The first instance of joint-emperors was that of Marcus Aurelius and Verus in 161 A. D. (Spart. *Hel.* 5.). Domitian, called *consors* by Titus when he was emperor, had even less share in his brother's power (*Tit.* 9. 3.) and yet *consors* is, if anything, a stronger term than *particeps imperii*. Abbott (Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.* p. 309.) makes clear the purpose of this participation in power where he says: "Vespasian had not settled the principle of the succession. At his death, however, in the summer of the year 79, it was rather a theoretical than a practical question. He had secured for his son Titus a point of vantage, by making him prefect of the praetorian guard, by granting him the tribunician power in the year 71, by allowing him to receive the title of imperator after his success in Judaea and by making him his colleague in the censorship and the consulship."

(*2*) This is the only example in Suetonius of the figurative use of the word *tutor*.

(*3*) *Agere* with the accusative of the rôle played is common in Latin of all periods (*Thes. L. L.* I. 1398.74—1399. 50.). Suetonius uses it of the stage (*Jul.* 39. 2; *Nero* 4; *Cal.* 57. 4.), and in the derived sense, as in this passage. He says of Claudius, "Non principem, sed ministrum egit" (*Claud.* 29. 1.).

TRIUMPHAVIT (*4*) CUM PATRE CENSURAMQUE (*5*) GESSIT UNA, EIDEM COLLEGA ET IN TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE (*6*) ET IN SEPTEM CONSULATIBUS (*7*) FUIT,

Vesp. 8. 1, Talis tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus acto de Judaeis triumpho consulatus octo veteri addidit.

Dom. 2. 1, ac triumphum utriusque Iudaicum equo albo comitatus est.

Plin. *Nat.* praef. 3, Triumphalis et censorius tu sexiensque consul ac tribuniciae potestatis particeps. . . .

Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 7. 5. 3, *οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις ποιήσασθαι θρίαμβον, καίπερ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἴδιον ψηφισαμένης.*

Zon. 11. 17. C, *Τῶν δ' Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπανελθὼν τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἔπεμψαν· συνέπεμπε δὲ σφίσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος.*

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 9, Vespasianus et Titus imperatores, magnificum agentes de Iudaeis triumphum, urbem ingressi sunt. Pulchrum et ignotum antea cunctis mortalibus inter trecentos viginti triumphos, qui a conditione urbis, usque in id tempus acti erant, hoc spectaculum fuit, patrem et filium uno triumphali curru vectos, gloriosissimam ab his qui patrem et filium offenderant, victoriam reportasse.

Plin. *Nat.* 7. 162, accedunt experimenta recentissimi census quem intra quadriennium imperatores Caesares Vespasiani pater filiusque censores egerunt.

Capitol. *Aur.* 1. 2, avus, Annius Verus, iterum consul et praefectus urbi, adscitus in patricios (a principibus) a Vespasiano et Tito censoribus.

Vesp. 8. 1, suscepit et censuram ac per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem publicam stabilire primo, deinde et ornare.

Dio 66. 1, *τήν τε ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἔλαβον, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὤν.*

Tac. *Hist.* 4. 38, Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum absentes inierant. . . .

Plin. *Nat.* 2. 57, Nam ut XV diebus utrumque sidus quaereretur et nostro aevo accidit, imperatoribus Vespasianis patre III, filio iterum consulibus.

(*4*) The arch of Titus, which was set up after his death by Domitian on the *Summa Sacra Via,* offers a memorial of this triumph. Beneath its vaulting on the south are sculptured in bas-relief the Jewish trophies, the table of

RECEPTAQUE AD SE (*8*) PROPE OMNIUM OFFICIORUM CURA, CUM PATRIS NOMINE ET EPISTULAS IPSE DICTARET ET EDICTA (*9*) CONSCRIBERET ORATIONESQUE IN SENATU RECITARET ETIAM QUAESTORIS VICE (*10*),

Dio 66, 10, *ἡ καὶ ὅσα ἀπῶν ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, διὰ τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκέλευεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, τιμῶν κἀν τούτῳ αὐτήν.*

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shewbread, the seven branched candlesticks and the silver trumpets; opposite is a representation of Titus in a *quadriga* with horses led by Roma. Victory is shown about to crown the Emperor. In the vault is a relief representing the apotheosis of Titus (Platner, pp. 319-322; Strong, Roman Sculpture, pp. 105-122). On the triumph see Excursus A.

(*5*) Claudius was the only emperor before Vespasian and Titus who assumed the censorship (Greenidge, *Roman Public Life* pp. 347-348; Mommsen *St. R.* II² 326-327; *Otho* 1.3; Tac. *Ann.* 11.25; *Claud.* 16.1.). Augustus was given the powers of the office in the form *morum legumque regimen perpetuum* and took the census by virtue of this without the title of censor (*Aug.* 27.5.). He also performed some of the functions of this office through the *imperium* (*Aug.* 35; *Mon. Ancyr.* 2.5.). The *principes* had by consent the right to revise the lists of senators and knights and to create patricians. The assessment of the people for the comitia and the army soon ceased to be necessary. From inscriptions it has been ascertained that Vespasian and Titus entered upon this office in April 73, but were probably elected at the time of the triumph in 71 (Newton, pp. 30-31; *Ephem. Epigr.* IV. 779–Newton 48; Dessau 260–Newton 44; *CIL.* X. 1420–Newton 47.).

(*6*) Before Vespasian, Augustus and Tiberius were the only emperors to share the tribunician power. In the case of Augustus, this was given only for limited periods and at a time when he had his hopes fixed on his young grandsons as his successors; and he only admitted Agrippa and Tiberius to that title that they might succeed him in case of a sudden vacancy. In the following passage Tacitus tells of these incidents and the reason for the establishment of the tribunician power as it exists in the imperial period: Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accusatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. Sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc extemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit. (Tac. *Ann.* 3.56. 1-5; Tac. *Ann.* Furneaux Introd. I., ch. VI, p. 98.).

(*7*) The years of these consulships were 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79. During his own reign Titus was consul only in the year 80; so his total number of consulships was eight. His father held the office nine times, having been consul in 51 before his elevation to the principate and having again served with Nerva in 71 (Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imp. Rom.*).

(*8*) The MSS. favor *ad se*; but X reads *a se* and the phrase is omitted by *π'*. Oudendorp thinks that *ad* is a corruption of *ab* on the ground that *recipere ad se*

PRAEFECTURAM QUOQUE PRAETORI SUSCEPIT NUMQUAM AD ID TEMPUS NISI AB EQ. R. ADMINISTRATAM *(11)*, EGITQUE ALIQUANTO INCIVILIUS*(12)* ET VIOLENTIUS, SIQUIDEM SUSPECTISSIMUM QUEMQUE SIBI SUMMISSIS*(13)* QUI PER THEATRA ET CASTRA QUASI CONSENSU*(14)* AD POENAM DEPOSCERENT, HAUD CUNCTANTER OPPRESSIT.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9.11, quem (Titum) . . . victorem praefectura praetorio extulerat (Vespasianus). Unde etiam is honos, ingens a principio, tumidior atque alter ab Augusto imperio fuit.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10.4, praefecturam praetorianam patre imperante adeptus, suspectum quemque et oppositum sibi immissis, qui

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means either "to receive into one's house or in hospitality" or "to promise for another." It is true that Suetonius only here uses *ad se* with *recipere* in the sense of "to take." *Recipere* without *ad se* (*Jul.* 76; *Aug.* 27.5, 58.1; *Tib.* 24.2, 26.1, 50.3; *Vit.* 8.2, 15.2; *Vesp.* 12.) is frequently used of accepting honors and offices when offered and seems to be the opposite of the phrase, *abstinere honore.* Suetonius (*Aug.* 52.) says of Augustus: Templa . . . in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore. Capitolinus (Capitol. *Aur.* 2.5.) closely approaches this expression: Proculum vero usque ad proconsulatum provexit, oneribus in se receptis. The addition of *in se* to *recipere* here, as of *ad se* in our passage, seems to give a force almost equal to *suscipere.* Cicero (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.101.) uses the latter in the sense of "to undertake voluntarily," as distinct from "to accept when offered," which he expresses by *recipere*, e.g.: Ita nonnulli, dum operam suam multam existimari volunt, ut toto foro volitare et a causa ad causam ire videantur, causas dicunt incognitas. In quo est illa quidem magna offensio vel neglegentiae susceptis rebus vel perfidiae receptis.

(9) Cf. n. on 8.1.

(10) This refers to the *quaestor candidatus principis*, whose regular duty was to read the message of the emperor in the senate (Tac. *Ann.* 16.27.2; Spart. *Hadr.* 3.1.); cf. *Dig.* 1.13.1.2: Sane non omnes quaestores provincias sortiebantur, verum excepti erant candidati principis; hi etenim solis libris principalibus in senatu legendis vacant. .. 4, Ex his, sicut dicimus, quidam sunt, qui candidati principis dicebantur quique epistolas eius in senatu legunt. Vespasian, however, was not alone in deputing this office to others. Dio (Dio 56.26.) tells us that Augustus was accustomed to have Germanicus read his messages, although Suetonius (*Aug.* 65.2.) testifies to the fact that he sometimes made use of a quaestor. Nero had his addresses to the senate read by the consul *praeterito quaestoris officio* (*Nero* 15.2.). A praetor read a letter of Macrinus in the senate because no quaestors were present (Dio 78.16.). Sometimes the quaestor read the message of the emperor even when the latter was present, as in the case of Augustus because of hoarseness on one occasion (*id.* 54.25.) and of Tiberius because of the weakness of his voice (*id.* 60.2.).

(11) The prefecture of the praetorian guard was the highest office open to men of the equestrian order (*Galba* 14.2.), and the custom referred to here of restricting the holding of the office to that class was still in force in the time of Marcus

per theatra et castris invidiosa iactantes ad poenam poscerent, quasi criminis convictos oppressit.

Plin. *Nat.* praef. 3, . . . et (quod his nobilius fecisti, dum illud patri pariter et equestri ordini praestas) praefectus praetori eius.

Aurelius, who grieved that he could not give Pertinax the position, because he was of senatorial rank (Capitol. *Pert.* 2.9.). Suetonius seems to have overlooked the exception in the case of M. Arrecinus Clemens, who was made praetorian prefect by Mucianus in the early part of Vespasian's reign, in spite of the fact that he was *senatorii ordinis* (Tac. *Hist.* 4.68.). Perhaps he purposely disregards this as not a regular appointment by an emperor.

(*12*) *Incivilius*, "arrogantly" or "assuming more than a citizen should." *Civilis* is frequently used by Suetonius in the sense of the Greek *κοινός, δημοκρατικός*; e.g., (Germanicus) domi forisque civilis (*Cal.* 3.2.) and, At (Claudius) in semet augendo parcus atque civilis praenomine Imp. abstinuit (*Claud.* 12.1; cf. *Tib.* 11.1, 26.1.). The younger Pliny uses *civilis* as a term of highest praise. He seems to mean by it the manner of a citizen or magistrate of the republic as contrasted with a holder of absolute power; cf. *Paneg.* 78.4, non est minus civile et principem esse pariter et consulem quam tantum consulem.

(*13*) *summittere* has here the meaning "to send secretly" with a suggestion of "suborn." This force of *sub* in composition is well illustrated by the unusual verb *summonere* in *Aug.* 53.3, Die senatus numquam patres nisi in curia salutavit et quidem sedentis ac nominatim singulos nullo summonente (i.e., "no one prompting"). The same force of *sub* appears in *surripere* (*Tib.* 60; *Claud.* 32; *Vit.* 5.) and *subornare* (*Aug.* 10.3; *Nero* 34.3.). Suetonius uses *summittere* in significations which vary from a close approximation to the simple verb (*Jul.* 28.1, 43.2.) to the sense of "suborn" (*Nero* 28.1, 34.1.), where the meaning of the verb is entirely lost. Between these extremes is its meaning in this passage, where the verb still retains its force while the prefix adds the idea of secret employment (*Nero* 32.3; *Galba* 23).

(*14*) *consensu* is frequently used absolutely, i.e., without a limiting genitive, in the sense *uno animo* (*Thes. L. L.* IV, p. 392.52 ff.); as in *Tib.* 1.2, *Luci praenomen consensu repudiavit*, where the agreement of the whole family is understood. Here the consensus of all the people of the camp and theatres is meant. In each instance where the word appears in Suetonius without the genitive (*Aug.* 57.1, 58.1; *Nero* 44.2; *Dom.* 13.1.) the context clearly indicates what has been omitted and there is no reason to feel with Bremi a conscious ellipsis of *omnium*.

2. IN HIS AULUM CAECINAM *(15)* CONSULAREM VOCATUM AD CENAM AC VIXDUM TRICLINIO EGRESSUM CONFODI IUSSIT, SANE URGENTE DISCRIMINE *(16)*, CUM ETIAM CHIROGRAPHUM *(17)* EIUS PRAEPARATAE APUD MILITES CONTIONIS *(18)* DEPREHENDISSET.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10.4, In quis Caecinam consularem adhibitum cenae vixdum triclinio egressum, ob suspicionem stupratae Berenicis uxoris suae, iugulari iussit.

Dio 66. 16, *κἂν τούτῳ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν ὑπότε τοῦ Ἀλιηνοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, καίπερ φίλους τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νομίζων, καὶ πάσῃ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφθονωτάτῃ τιμῇ χρώμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀπέθανε· φωραθέντες γὰρ Ἀλιηνὸς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ, ἐξαναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ συσσιτίου, εὐθὺς ἀπεσφάγη τοῦ Τίτου κελεύσαντος, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι τῆς νυκτὸς νεοχμῶσαι (τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν συχνοὺς προπαρεσκύαστοῦ).*

Zon. 11.17, *ἐπεβουλεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλιηνοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου. φωραθέντες δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀλιηνὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐσφάγη, τοῦ Τίτου κελεύσαντος.*

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(15) Aulus Caecina, also called Alienus Caecina (Tac. *Hist.* 1.52.), Caecina Alienus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4.11.2.) and Alienus (Dio *passim.*), was born at Vicetia (Tac. *Hist.* 3.8.). He was *legatus legionis* under Galba, but was prosecuted for misappropriation of public funds (Tac. *Hist.* 1.52,53.). In retaliation he joined the forces of Vitellius and was prominent as a general in the revolution (Tac. *Hist. passim*; Plut. *Otho passim*; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4.9.9.). After the victory, he was the rival of Valens for the imperial favor (Tac. *Hist.* 2.92.); but when he was sent with an army against the Flavians, he proved a traitor to his emperor and surrendered his troops to the enemy. Vespasian received him kindly, as Josephus says, *καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν ἀπεδέχθη τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς προδοσίας ὀνείδη ταῖς παρ' ἐλπίδα τιμαῖς ἐπεκάλυψεν* (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 4.11.2, 3; Tac. *Hist.* 2.99, 101.). He was *Consul suffectus* in 69 from August until the 30th of October, when he was removed from office the day before his consulship was to end (Liebenam, *Fasti Cons.* a.69; Tac. *Hist.* 3.37.). Tacitus describes him as follows: decorus iuventa, corpore ingens, animi immodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu, studia militum inlexerat (Tac. *Hist.* 1.53.) and again says of him, minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis (Tac. *Hist.* 2.56.).

(16) The severity of Titus recorded in this incident is not so difficult to comprehend, if we consider that there were very many conspiracies against Vespasian (*Vesp.* 25.). The character of Aulus Caecina, a treacherous man and at the same time very popular with the soldiers (Tac. *Hist.* 1.53 and *passim.*), was not such as to allow of leniency and might even offer justification for his summary execution. Suetonius's own words in the following sentence seem to excuse this severity: quibus rebus sicut in posterum securitati satis cavit (*Tit.* 6.2.).

(17) Cf. n. on *chirographum* ch. 3.2.

(18) Gellius says of the meanings of *contio*, contionem autem tria significare: locum suggestumque, unde verba fierent . . ., item significare coetum populi adsistentis, item orationem ipsam, quae ad populum diceretur (Gell. 18.7.5.).

QUIBUS REBUS SICUT IN POSTERUM SECURITATI SATIS CAVIT, ITA AD PRAESENS PLURIMUM CONTRAXIT *(19)* INVIDIAE *(20)*, UT NON TEMERE QUIS TAM ADVERSO RUMORE *(21)* MAGISQUE INVITIS OMNIBUS TRANSIERIT AD PRINCIPATUM.

Of course the last signification is required for the interpretation of our passage (Cf. *Thes. LL.* IV. 733-37–734.8.).

(*19*) Cf. *Vesp.* 4.4, *contraxit offensam.*

(*20*) The free use of the genitive of the whole is characteristic of Suetonius (Thimm, p. 61 ff.; cf. *Tit.* 8.5, adversa temporum, asperrimas insularum). Similar to *plurimum invidiae* are expressions with *quid*, *aliquid*, or *tantum* and the genitive (*Tit.* 8.2, ne quid popularitatis; *Nero* 48.1, aliquid secretioris latebrae; *Jul.* 39.4, tantum hominum.). Pliny uses *plurimum languoris* and *plurimum laboris* (Plin. *Nat.* 7.42, 8.179.).

(*21*) Dio (Dio 66.17.) states that some people, seeking to incriminate Titus,—among them the emperor Hadrian—spread a report that Vespasian was poisoned at a banquet. Suetonius, however, takes no note of this piece of scandal.

VII. PRAETER SAEVITIAM SUSPECTA IN EO ETIAM LUXURIA (*1*) ERAT, QUOD AD MEDIAM NOCTEM (*2*) COMISATIONES (*3*) CUM PROFUSISSIMO (*4*) QUOQUE FAMILIARIUM EXTENDERET; NEC MINUS LIBIDO PROPTER EXOLETORUM ET SPADONUM GREGES PROPTERQUE INSIGNEM REGINAE BERENICES (*5*) AMOREM, CUI ETIAM NUPTIAS POLLICITUS FEREBATUR;

Cf. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 3. on ch. 1. p. 3.

Dio 67. 2, *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐαρίνου τινὸς εὐνούχου ἐρῶν, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἰσχυρῶς περὶ τοὺς ἐκτομίας ἐσπουδάκει ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ ἐκείνου ὕβρει.* . .

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 2, neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus; sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum. Laetam voluptatibus adulescentiam egit (Titus) . . . .

Dio 66. 15, *Βερενίκη δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τε ἤνθει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀγρίππα ἦλθε· καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηγικῶν τιμῶν ἠξιώθη, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ᾤκησε καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγίγνετο. προσεδόκα δὲ γαμηθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει.*

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 7, Berenicem nuptias suas sperantem.

(*1*) *Luxuria*, "riotous living," as often in collocation with *libido*; cf. *Nero* 26.1; *Vesp.* 11.

(*2*) *Mediam noctem* has here the indefinite meaning, "middle of the night," rather than "midnight." This has been shown to be the more usual meaning of the phrase. (*Cl. Phil.* VIII. p. 10 ff., Rolfe).

(*3*) The spelling *comisatio* of all the MSS. is wrong and probably arose from the false derivation of the word from *comis*. It should be spelled *comissatio*, as it is derived from *κωμάζω*, "to go revelling about" (Saalfeld *s.v.*; Weise *s.v.*). The *comissatio* was the drinking-bout that might follow the *convivium* (*Dom.* 21.). This was frequently followed by revelling through the streets and presumably the wine supper gained its name from this characteristic. Martial tells of the entertainment during the drinking afforded by the dancing of slave girls and by music (Mart. 5. 78. 23.), as well as by the reading of poems by host or guest (Mart. 10. 19. 19 ff., 5. 16. 9-10.). Cicero uses the word as a companion of *turpe convivium*, *amor*, *libido*, *sumptus*, and says of Catiline and his companions: Quodsi in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi (Cic. *Cat.* 2. 5. 10.). One of Gaius's amusements at the *comissatio* was the examination by torture of capital offenders (*Cal.* 32.1.).

(*4*) *profusus* usually means "lavish" or "extravagant in the use of money" (*Aug.* 72.3, 75; *Nero* 4; *Jul.* 13; *Vit.* 10.2.); but here it has rather the more general sense of "immoderate" or "prodigal" (*Claud.* 33.2.).

(*5*) *Julia Berenice*, the daughter of Julius Agrippa, king of the Jews, and Cypros (cf. P. W. III. 1.287-289; *Prosop. s.v.*; *CIA.* III. 556; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 2.11. 6; *id. Ant.* 18. 5. 4.), and the sister of Agrippa Minor, was first married to

SUSPECTA RAPACITAS, QUOD CONSTABAT IN COGNITIONIBUS (*6*) PATRIS NUNDINARI (*7*) PRAEMIARIQUE SOLITUM; DENIQUE PROPALAM ALIUM NERONEM (*8*) ET OPINABANTUR ET PRAEDICABANT.

Cf. Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 3, on ch. 1, p. 3.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 5, Iurgia autem sub patre venumdata; rapinarum cupidum, unde Neronem cuncti opinantes vocantesque summam rerum nactum graviter acceperant.

Marcus the son of Alexander, the Alabarch (*id. Ant.* 19. 5. 1.). After his death she was married to her uncle, Herod king of Chalcis (*id. ibid.*) and is therefore called queen (Tac. *Hist.* 2.2; *CIA. ibid.*). To him she bore two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* 20. 5. 2.). After his death she remained a widow for a long time, until the rumors of her relations with her brother (Juv. 6. 155 ff.) forced her to marry Polemon, who then held part of Cilicia (Jos. *Ant.* 20. 7. 3.). She left him shortly afterward, and in the year 60 she was with Agrippa at Caesarea on the occasion of his meeting with Porcius Festus (*Act. Apost.* 25. 13, 23.). She attempted to intercede with Florus for the Jews in 66 when she was in Jerusalem to pay a vow, and, as she was unsuccessful, wrote to Cestius Gallus to complain of the rule of Florus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 2. 15. 1; 16. 1.). After the beginning of the war, she was with her brother in the camp of the Romans and was as much favored by Vespasian as by Titus (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 2, 81.). She came to Rome with her brother in 75 and lived with Titus in the palace, but was dismissed by him because of the displeasure of the Romans (Dio 66. 15.). Dio says she came to Rome again at the accession of Titus (Dio 66. 18.). There is no indication of a dismissal of Berenice and a return in 79 in the account of Suetonius. In fact, it would take away from the point of his sudden change for the better, if he merely stood by a decision he had made before. Mommsen called Berenice with great appropriateness "eine Kleopatra in Kleinen" (Momms. *R. G.* V. 540. Bk. 8. ch. 11.).

(*6*) *cognitionibus* is the emendation of Torrentius for *contionibus* of the MSS. Ursinus proposed *negotiationibus*, which is improbable palaeographically, although it is suggested by *Vesp.* 16.1, *negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quaedam tantum ut pluris postea distraheret.* Boden would emend to *cocionibus*, which is a rare word for "retail dealers," "merchants" and would interpret that Titus plied his trade among the *cociones* of his father, the men Vespasian employed to get bribes from people in order later to enrich himself. Although this is palaeographically possible, the sense is difficult. It would also be hard to explain the meaning of *auctionibus*, another emendation that has been suggested. *Cognitionibus*, however, gives excellent sense, for *cognitio* is used a number of times by Suetonius (*Aug.* 51.2; *Rhet.* 6; *Tib.* 62.1; *Claud.* 43 etc.) to signify "judicial examination" or "trial," as frequently also in other authors (*Thes. L. L.* III 1485. 35 ff.). Suetonius tells us that Vespasian did not hesitate to sell acquittal to defendants, guilty as well as innocent (*Vesp.* 16.2.), and Dio says in praise of him that he killed no one to get his money and took care to preserve large numbers of those who freely gave it (Dio 66. 14.). His concubine, Caenis, acquired great wealth by selling offices and imperial deci-

AT ILLI EA FAMA PRO BONO CESSIT *(9)* CONVERSAQUE EST IN MAXIMAS LAUDES *(10)* NEQUE VITIO ULLO REPERTO ET CONTRA VIRTUTIBUS SUMMIS.

Ps. Aur. *Epit.* 10. 5, sed haec in melius conversa . . . ei immortalem gloriam contulere . . . quo facto quasi signum protulit mutatae intemperantiae.

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sions (Dio 66. 14.). Fabricius Veiento in the time of Nero was accused of selling his influence with the emperor and was banished (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 50.). If we may believe Lampridius (Lampr. *Comm.* 14. 4-7.), Commodus had the system of marketing imperial favors perfected to a high degree: Multi sub eo et alienam poenam et suam salutem pecunia redemerunt. Vendidit etiam suppliciorum diversitates et sepulturas et imminutiones malorum et alios pro aliis occidit. Vendidit etiam provincias et administrationes; cum ii per quos venderet partem acciperent, partem vero Commodus. Vendidit nonnullis et inimicorum suorum caedes. Vendiderunt sub eo etiam eventus litium liberti. Perhaps, however, Titus was merely working for his father in his money-making schemes, in "squeezing the sponges" (*Vesp.* 16.2.).

(7) *nundinor* from its original meaning "to traffic in open market" came to have commonly the sense of "trafficing in that which it is wrong to buy or sell." It is so used by Cicero (Cic. *Verr.* 2.1. 119, 2.2.122; *Phil.* 3.10.). The intransitive use of this verb is unusual and perhaps appears here because it is associated with *praemior*, which is used without an object to mean "to make gain."

(8) Tacitus similarly uses *alius* for *alter:* Tac. *Hist.* 4.73, alius Ariovistus. Why the people feared "a second Nero" in Titus rather than "a second Caligula or Tiberius" does not seem quite clear. Probably the fact that Nero was the most recent of the tyrants influenced their choice.

(9) *pro bono cedere* is only slightly different from the use by Suetonius (*Aug.* 91.1; *Claud.* 26.2.) of *cedere* with an adverb, *prospere* or *male*, meaning "to turn out well or ill." In judicial language (*Dig.* 12. 2. 35. 1, 22. 2. 2.) and elsewhere (*Colum.* 12. 14; Keil *Gramm.* IV. 221. 26, 33, 222. 3.), the expression (cedere pro . . .) is common in the sense of "to take the place of"; cf. the note of Servius (Serv. *Aen.* 11. 288.): et mire quia non habet quos imputet Troianis triumphos, vult eis excidii tarditatem pro victoria cedere. Sallust (Sall. *Jug.* 22. 4.) uses *pro bono* in the sense of "advantageously" which is the meaning in our passage: populum R. neque recte neque pro bono facturum si . . .

(10) It is interesting to note that, according to a statement of Tacitus, Vespasian also reformed his life upon becoming emperor. In speaking of the various men who might be raised to the principate after the death of Galba, he says: Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama, solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 50.).

2. Convivia instituit iucunda magis quam profusa (*11*). Amicos elegit (*12*), quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei p. necessariis adquieverunt (*13*) praecipueque sunt usi.

(*11*) The meaning of this sentence seems to be, "He aimed to make his banquets enjoyable rather than extravagant." Cicero uses *iucundus* of dinners in the anecdote of Timotheus, who after having dined with Plato, said to him the next day: "Vestrae quidem cenae non solum in praesentia, sed etiam postero die iucundae sunt" (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.100.). Again he tells how much Ptolomaeus, who had never before eaten when really hungry, enjoyed some bread which was given him once when his attendants failed him: nihil visum est illo pane iucundius (Cic. *Tusc.* 97.). Cf. also Justinus's account of Xerxes and Ariamenes. During the arbitration of their claims for succession they had in spite of their strife, iucunda inter se, non solum credula convivia (Just. 2.10.10.). Cicero (*Epist.* 5.15.) distinguishes the meanings of *gratus* and *iucundus*, amor tuus est mihi gratus et optatus; dicerem iucundus, nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem, i.e., "Your affection is gratifying and desired by me; I should say productive of joy if I had not lost that word for all time." Forcellini (*s.v.*) differentiates the two as follows: Differt a *gratus*, quia grata accepta sunt; iucunda etiam delectabilia. Omne iucundum est gratum, sed non contra: ut medicina aegro grata quidem est, sed non iucunda.

(*12*) Mommsen remarks that the *amici* referred to here must be either the personal, trusted friends of the emperor or the *amici primae admissionis* (Momm. *St. R.* II[3]. p. 835 n. 2.). Pliny says of the imperial freedmen of Trajan, neminem in usu habes nisi aut tibi aut patri tuo aut optimo cuique principum dilectum (Plin. *Paneg.* 88.). That the emperor's choice of friends was of considerable importance to the state is amply illustrated in the history of the imperial period. Lampridius (Lampr. *Alex.* 65.4.) says, meliorem esse rem publicam et prope tutiorem, in qua princeps malus est, ea in qua sunt amici principis mali, si quidem unus malus potest a plurimis bonis corrigi, multi autem mali non possunt ab uno quamvis bono ulla ratione superari. To illustrate his statement, Raro eminentes viri non magnis adiutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt, Velleius Paterculus (Vell. 2. 127.) instances the friendship of the Scipiones and the Laelii, of Augustus with Agrippa and Statilius Taurus, before introducing the shining example of Tiberius's friend Sejanus!

(*13*) *acquiescere* is used here in the transferred sense of "to trust in," or "to be well pleased or well satisfied with." In the former meaning the verb governs the dative; cf. *Vit.* 14.5, vaticinante Chatta muliere cui velut oraculo adquiescebat. The *Thes. L. L.* classifies the use of this verb in our passage under the meanings, "*laetari, bene se habere, contentum esse,*" with the abl. of cause, and cites also *Tib.* 56: Nihilo lenior in convictores Graeculos quibus vel maxime adquiescebat, which seems to be a good illustration of this use. In our own passage, however, the meaning appears to be, "he chose friends upon whom the emperors after him relied as necessary to themselves and to the state." With this interpretation, *quibus* is a dative. There is no reason to presume that it must be ablative from the fact that that case is required in the second member of the clause with the verb *usi sunt*.

BERENICEN STATIM AB URBE DIMISIT INVITUS INVITAM (*14*). QUOSDAM E GRATISSIMIS DELICATORUM QUANQUAM TAM ARTIFICES SALTATIONIS, UT MOX SCAENAM TENUERINT (*15*), NON MODO FOVERE PROLIXIUS (*16*), SED SPECTARE OMNINO IN PUBLICO COETU (*17*) SUPERSEDIT.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 5, ut subit pondus regium, Berenicem nuptias suas sperantem regredi domum et enervatorum greges abire praecepit.

Dio 66. 15, *ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον δυσχειραίνοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰσθόμενον, ἀποπέμψασθαι αὐτήν.*

Dio 66. 18, *καὶ σώφρων, καίτοι καὶ τῆς* Βερενίκης *ἐς Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλθούσης ἐγένετο.*

(*14*) This device, the placing of two forms of the same word in juxtaposition for emphasis (Freund p. 25.) is used by Suetonius also in *Aug.* 29. 5, Multaque a multis tunc exstructa sunt, and in *Tib.* 2.1, Multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita (exstant). The nominative precedes, as Kiessling has shown to be the practice in Plautus (*Rhein. Mus.* XXIII p. 411 ff., Kiessling).

(*15*) *scaenam tenere* seems to have the meaning of the English phrase, "to hold the boards," as it is used also in the statement of Hieronymus in regard to Publilius Syrus, which may be drawn from Suetonius: Publilius mimographus natione Syrus Romae scenam tenet (Hier. Reiff. *Suet. Rel.* 26* p. 40.).

(*16*) Rolfe (Translation of Suetonius) interprets, "he not only ceased to cherish any longer." *Diutius* would be more usual in this sense, and from the use of *prolixius* elsewhere the meaning, "more abundantly" would be expected. The adjective *prolixus,* however, is used with *aetatis* and *temporis* in the sense of "long" (Dig. 50.6.5.12, 49.14.45.11), and *prolixum* is used as an adverb equal to *valde, diu* (Apul. *Met.* 8.9.)

(*17*) The theory of Burman and Torrentius that *coetu* has been inserted here by error, that it arose by dittography of *-co* of *publico* and *su-* of *supersedit,* is very improbable, especially as this is the more difficult reading; for *in publico* is a common phrase. Suetonius means not "in public" in the general sense, but "on public occasions when the people are gathered together" and uses *in publico coetu* for accuracy. Cf. *Cal.* 32.2, Romae publico epulo . . . per coetus epulantium.

3. Nulli civium quicquam ademit (*18*); abstinuit alieno (*19*), ut si quis umquam (*20*); ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas conlationes (*21*) recepit.

(*18*) In view of Titus's generosity, this was very remarkable and could only be accomplished by the gradual draining of the imperial resources (Herzog II p. 300 n. 3.). Cicero in *de Off.* 2. 54 speaks of the type of generosity which Titus avoided: Atque etiam sequuntur largitonem rapinae; cum enim dando egere coeperunt, alienis bonis manus afferre coguntur. Ita, cum benivolentiae comparandae causa benefici esse velint, non tanta studia assequuntur eorum quibus dederunt, quanta odia eorum, quibus ademerunt.

(*19*) Suetonius (*Aug.* 56. 2.) tells us of Augustus's scrupulous care not to infringe on the property rights of citizens in building his forum, and Dio (Dio 69. 5.) mentions among Hadrian's virtues that he deprived no one of money unjustly. Pliny (Plin. *Paneg.* 27.) praises Trajan highly for this same characteristic.

(*20*) *ut si quis umquam* is a peculiar expression in which *si* is superfluous. It seems to be a blending of *ut qui maxime* (Liv. 7. 33. 5, proelium, ut quod maxime umquam; *id.* 5. 25. 9, ut quae maxime umquam.) and *si quis umquam* (Cf. *Claud.* 40.3, si quem alium, et se liberum esse.). A redundant *ut* appears in *Claud.* 21. 5, qualis est ut cum Palumbum postulantibus daturum se promisit, si captus esset, and also in *Cal.* 23. 2, Aviae Antoniae secretum petenti denegavit, nisi ut interveniret Macro praefectus.

(*21*) *conlationes* were contributions to the emperors which were sometimes voluntary, sometimes apparently so, being due to complaints on the part of the prince of his poverty or to some misfortune to his property, and sometimes actually demanded. Thus Gaius received such assistance when his daughter was born (*Cal.* 42.) and Augustus upon the occasion of the burning of the palace (*Aug.* 57. 2.). The latter, however, only accepted a part of each man's contribution as a matter of form. Nero required *conlationes* from the people after the fire in Rome (*Nero.* 38. 3.) and again when preparing to set out against the rebels in Gaul (*Nero.* 44. 2.).

Et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor, amphitheatro dedicato (*22*) **thermisque** (*23*) **iuxta celeriter** (*24*) **extructis munus edidit apparatissimum largissimumque; dedit et**

Eutr. 7. 21. 4, Romae amphitheatrum aedificavit et quinque milia ferarum in dedicatione eius occidit.

Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 10. 5, amphitheatri perfecto opere.

Dio 66. 25, *καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ ἱερώσας πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε.*

Mart. *Epigr*. 1. 7-8,

Omnis Caesareo cedit labor amphitheatro,
Unum pro cunctis fama loquetur opus.

Mart. *Epigr*. 2. 7,

Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,
Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.

Mart. 3. 20. 15,

Titine thermis an lavatur Agrippae. . . .

Mart. 3. 36. 5,

Lassus ut in thermas decima vel serius hora
Te sequar Agrippae, cum laver ipse Titi.

Cassiod. *Var*. 5. 42, Hoc Titi potentia Principalis divitiarum profuso flumine cogitavit aedificium fieri, unde caput urbium potuisset. Cum Theatrum, quod est hemisphaerium, Graece dicatur, amphitheatrum quasi in unum iuncta duo visoria, recte constat esse nominatum. . . .

(*22*) Dio and Martial tell us many details of the shows given in connection with the dedication in 80 A. D. of the amphitheatre, which was built by Vespasian: item (fecit) amphitheatrum urbe media ut destinasse compererat Augustum (*Vesp*. 9.1; Cohen I Titus n. 399, 400.). The dedication itself was probably of a religious character, such as the ceremony which preceded the games upon the occasion of the dedication of Pompey's theatre after the restoration of Claudius. Suetonius (*Claud*. 21. 1.) tells us that Claudius first offered sacrifice and then descended to his place amid the silence of the people. Of the games given by Titus, Dio (*Dio* 66. 25.) tells wonderful tales; that cranes fought against one another and that four elephants, with domestic animals and wild beasts to the number of nine thousand were slaughtered in the arena, women as well as men taking part in the fights; that the amphitheatre was flooded while animals performed in the water and men in boats took part in a sea fight, representing a battle between Corcyreans and Corinthians. Martial's book, *de Spectaculis*,

NAVALE PROELIUM IN VETERI NAUMACHIA (*25*), IBIDEM ET GLADIATORES ATQUE UNO DIE QUINQUE MILIA OMNE GENUS (*26*) FERARUM.

Dio 66. 25, *καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκεῖ* (in the amphitheatre) *ὡς οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄντες, ἐναυμάχησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦ τε Λουκίου, ὅ ποτε ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ὠρύξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μονομαχία τε καὶ θηρίων σφαγή, κατοικοδομηθείσης σανίσι τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν εἰκόνων λίμνης, καὶ ἰκρία πέριξ λαβούσης, τῇ δὲ δευτέρα ἱπποδρομία καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ναυμαχία τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πεζομαχία ἐγένετο.*

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is for the most part concerned with these shows and his verses give a vivid picture of the dramatic possibilities of the gladiatorial exhibition. He tells of actual representations of mythological tales (Mart. *Epigr.* 5, 8, 21.), where the parts which entailed suffering and death were taken by condemned criminals (Mart. *Epigr.* 7.), as well as of various thrilling and novel incidents (Mart. *Epigr.* 6, 12, 17.) which took place in connection with the slaughter of the animals. Dio adds to this account of the games a statement in regard to Titus's gifts to the people, which Suetonius does not mention, but might well have given at this point to illustrate the *munificentia* of the emperor: "Titus also contributed some things that were of practical use to the people. He would throw down into the theatre from aloft little wooden balls which were marked, one signifying something to eat, another clothing, another a silver vessel, or perhaps a gold one, or again horses, pack animals, cattle, slaves. Those who snatched them had to carry them to the dispensers of the bounty, to secure the article which was designated by the ticket" (Dio l. c.). Cf. also *Nero* 11.2.

(*23*) The baths of Titus are situated on the edge of the slope near the Flavian amphitheatre, just west of the *Thermae Traianae.* They are the smallest of the baths known to us, measuring only one hundred and five by one hundred and twenty metres. Probably, as Martial intimates (Mart. *Epigr.* 2.), they occupied a part of the garden of the Golden House of Nero. Only small remains have been found, a portion of the façade, which was toward the north, and the ruins of a sort of porticus at the foot of the stairs which led up to the baths from the level of the Flavian amphitheatre, which is about eighteen metres below (Platner p. 453; Jordan-Huelsen I. 3. pp. 307-310.).

(*24*) *celebriter*, the reading of the best MSS. has been rejected by all scholars in favor of *celeriter* of some very late MSS. (ς). It was adopted first by Calderinus in view of the *velocia munera thermas* of Mart. *Epigr.* 2. 7.

(*25*) This naumachia was built by Augustus. In the monumentum Ancyranum (*Mon. Ancyr.* 4. 43-45.) there appears the statement: navalis proeli spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato solo in longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes, in latitudinem mille et ducenti. Cf. *Aug.* 43. 1, item navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est. Suetonius (*Tib.* 72.1.) tells us that Tiberius came so near to returning to Rome during his voluntary exile in Capri as to come up the Tiber in a trireme usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos. Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 15. 3.) speaks of the nemus quod navali stagno circumposuit Augustus, and

Mart. *Epigr.* 24,

Si quis ades longis serus spectator ab oris,
  Cui lux prima sacri muneris ista fuit,
Ne te decipiat ratibus navalis Enyo
  Et par unda fretis: hic modo terra fuit.
Non credis? specta, dum lassant aequora Martem.
  Parva mora est: dices "Hic modo pontus erat."

Mart. *Epigr.* 28,

Augusti labor hic fuerat committere classes
  Et freta navali sollicitare tuba.
Caesaris haec nostri pars est quota? vidit in undis
  Et Thetis ignotas et Galatea feras;
Vidit in aequoreo ferventes pulvere currus
  Et domini Triton isse putavit equos;
Dumque parat saevis ratibus fera proelia Nereus,
  Horruit in liquidis ire pedestris aquis.
Quidquid et in Circo spectatur et Amphitheatro,
  Dives Caesarea praestitit unda tibi,
Fucinus et diri taceantur stagna Neronis
  Hanc norint unam saecula naumachiam.

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compares the naval battle given by Claudius on Lake Fucinus just before it was drained to that given by Augustus formerly, structo trans Tiberim stagno (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 56. 1.). Under Nero this naumachia was still in use (Dio 61. 20; *Nero* 12. 1.); but the naumachia referred to in *Nero* 27. 2, cenitabat non numquam et in publico, naumachia praeclusa vel Martio campo vel Circo Maximo, was probably in the Saepta, which we are told Gaius filled with water for a sham naval battle (Dio 59. 10.). The artificial lake made by Julius Caesar for the naval battle in connection with his triumph was in the Campus Martius (Dio 43. 23.), *in codeta minore*, according to Suetonius (*Jul.* 39. 4.). Just where this was is not known, but it is supposed to have been near the Tiber in the northwestern part (Richter, Müller's *Handbuch* III. 3. B. p. 258.). Among the plans which were prevented by his death Suetonius tells us that Caesar intended to fill up and level this lake and build a temple of Mars on the site. Frontinus (Frontin. *Aq.* 11.) says that the naumachia of Augustus was supplied with water by an aqueduct built by that emperor, called Aqua Alsietina or Augusta, which also furnished irrigation for the adjacent gardens and for the use of private individuals. It was of inferior quality and only used in emergencies, to eke out the supply of the public fountains in the ward beyond the Tiber.

(*26*) Quite common in Suetonius is the use of this attributive adverbial accusative (*Aug.* 75; *Dom.* 4.5; *Gram.* 4; *Claud.* 34.2, 44.), which Schmaltz (Schmaltz, Müller's *Handbuch* II. 2. p. 357 anm.) considers to have originated in an appositive.

VIII Natura autem benivolentissimus cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter [rata] (*1*) non haberent, quam si eadem isdem et ipsi dedissent, primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto (*2*) nec a se peti passus est.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 8, Dehinc cum donata concessave a prioribus principibus firmare insequentes solerent, simul imperium cepit, talia possidentibus edicto sponte cavit.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 2, Denique cum concessa per priores principes firmari ab insequentibus mos esset, simul imperium cepit, talia possidentibus edicto sponte cavit prospexitque.

Dio 66. 19, *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρός τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεστήσατο· καὶ γὰρ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε, βεβαιῶν πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα τισίν, ὥστε μὴ καθ' ἑκάστους σφῶν αἰτοῦντας αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχειν.*

(*1*) It is clear from the sense that something has been lost from the MSS. which is needed to complete the meaning of the sentence. *Rata* was suggested by Egnatius, and he was followed by the other editors. Suetonius uses the participle with *habeo* quite commonly (e.g., *Jul.* 66, 67.2; *Tib.* 62.3.), and the phrase *ratum habere* also in *Galba* 16, neque ratam rem habuit et subinde iactavit legere se militem, non emere consuesse; *ratus* with the verb *esse* appears with the same meaning (*Tib.* 31.1; *Claud.* 12.1.). Alexander (Alexander pp. 19-20.) suggests that perhaps *a se concessa* was lost before *aliter*, that *principibus* was the gloss of a reviser who thought *superioribus* difficult and that it later crept into the text. The reading would then be: . . . cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa a se concessa aliter non haberent. The suggestion is ingenious, as the loss is explained by a natural haplography, since the scribe, leaving his work or having his attention distracted after the former *concessa*, might easily omit the phrase *a se concessa* upon taking up his pen again; and *principibus* is hardly necessary and certainly is in a strange position.

(*2*) The emperors issued at irregular intervals proclamations called *edicta* (Darem. et Saglio, *s.v. edictum.*), containing information, exhortation, or even reproof, as well as bestowing favors of various kinds. The right to make these was in theory derived from the *ius edicendi* of the higher republican magistrates; but the imperial edicts differed from these in being for the most part purely local and administrative, and not of such a general nature. They also might be published at any time, and their effect lasted throughout the emperor's reign, while a magisterial edict was only of annual duration. Suetonius tells of many such proclamations issued by Augustus, for purposes of rebuke (*Aug.* 42.2 ,53.1; *Nero* 4.), contradiction of slander (*Aug* 56.1.), recommendation of books beneficial to the people (*Aug.* 89.2.), as well as of a general one telling of the purpose of his rule (*Aug.* 28. 2.). By an edict Caligula invited the equestrian order to hear him read (*Cal.* 53. 2.) and Claudius used one in order to apologize for his hot

IN CETERIS VERO DESIDERIIS HOMINUM OBSTINATISSIME TENUIT (*3*), NE QUEM SINE SPE DIMITTERET; QUIN ET ADMONENTIBUS DOMESTICIS, QUASI PLURA POLLICERETUR QUAM PRAESTARE POSSET (*4*), NON OPORTERE AIT QUEMQUAM A SERMONE PRINCIPIS TRISTEM DISCEDERE; ATQUE ETIAM RECORDATUS QUONDAM SUPER CENAM, QUOD (*5*) NIHIL CUIQUAM TOTO DIE PRAESTITISSET, MEMORABILEM ILLAM MERITOQUE LAUDATAM VOCEM EDIDIT: "AMICI, DIEM PERDIDI." (*6*)

Eutr. 7. 21. 3, Facilitatis et liberalitatis tantae fuit, ut, cum nulli quicquam negaret et ab amicis reprehenderetur, responderit nullum tristem debere ab imperatore discedere, praeterea cum quadam die in cena recordatus fuisset nihil se illo die cuiquam praestitisse, dixerit: "Amici, hodie diem perdidi."

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 9, Quadam etiam die recordans vesperi nihil se cuiquam praestitisse, venerando caelestique dicto: "Amici," ait, "perdidimus diem," quia erat magnificae liberalitatis.

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temper (*Claud.* 38.1.). The latter Emperor was guilty of writing twenty edicts in one day and some of them on trivial subjects, as Suetonius testifies (*Claud.* 16.4.). We are told that Domitian relied upon others for the composition of his proclamations (*Dom.* 20.) and in 6. 1. we learn that Titus wrote edicts for his father. Pliny the younger (Plin. *Epist.* 10. 58.) has preserved the words of an edict of Nerva which is interesting as being perhaps merely an adaptation of the one which Titus issued: Quaedam sine dubio, Quirites, ipsa felicitas temporum edicit, nec spectandus est in iis bonus princeps, quibus illum intellegi satis est, cum hoc sibi civium meorum spondere possit vel non admonita persuasio, me securitatem omnium quieti meae praetulisse, ut et nova beneficia conferrem et ante me concessa servarem. Ne tamen aliquam gaudiis publicis adferat haesitationem vel eorum qui impetraverunt diffidentia vel eius memoria qui praestitit necessarium pariter credidi ac laetum obviam dubitantibus indulgentiam meam mittere. Nolo existimet quisquam, quod alio principe vel privatim vel publice consecutus sit, ideo saltem a me rescindi, ut potius mihi debeat. Sint rata et certa, nec gratulatio ullius instauratis egeat precibus, quem fortuna imperii vultu meliore respexit. Me novis beneficiis vacare patiantur et ea demum sciant roganda esse quae non habent.

(*3*) *Teneo* in the sense of "insist" is found in Cicero (Cic. *Epist.* 1. 1. 3, *Parad.* 14.) and is quite common in Livy (Liv. 3. 29. 8; 4. 30. 16.), where it is often used as here with a substantive jussive clause as its object.

(*4*) Cf. note on *quasi*, 5. 3.

Auson. *Grat. Act.* 16. 72, Celebre fuit Titi Caesaris dictum, perdidisse se diem, quo nihil boni fecerat.

Cedren. *Hist. Compend.* P 217. A-B, *βασιλεύοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ οὐ παρῆλθεν ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ δῶρόν τι τῶν ὑπηκόων τινὶ ἢ εὐεργεσίαν οὐ παρέσχεν. Ἔλεγε γὰρ βασιλέως εἶναι γνώμην τὸ εὐεργετεῖν καὶ ἐν ταῖς αἰτήσεσιν εὐεπήκοον εἶναι. Πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ αἰτουμένους τι συνετίθετο ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιντο· καί τινος τῶν συνήθων ἐρωτήσαντος, ὅτου χάριν τοῦτο ποιεῖς, πολλάκις μὴ ἐκπληρῶν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις; "Οὐδένα", εἶπεν ὁ Τίτος, "ἀπὸ βασιλέως δεῖ σκυθρωπὸν ἀποπέμπεσθαι."*

Themistius 18. 225a, *καὶ εἴσω τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἡλικίας, λόγους ἐγκάρπους καὶ ὑψηλοὺς καὶ ὠφελίμους καὶ παλαιῶν κλέα αὐτοκρατόρων . . . καὶ Τίτος ὁ γενναῖος, οὗ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ μέγα ἐκεῖνο ῥῆμα, ὅτι τήμερον οὐκ ἐβασίλευσα· οὐδένα γὰρ εὖ ἐποίησα.*

(*5*) The substantive quod-clause with verbs of saying and thinking instead of the infinitive with subject accusative is exceedingly rare until after the middle of the 2nd Century A. D. Suetonius shows only one other instance: *Claud.* 29. 3, Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, and there the presence of the *illud* makes the construction less surprising (Kühner II. 1. § 192. 2.e.).

(*6*) This is the favorite anecdote of Titus, for, although Dio does not mention it, the later writers always make much of it. The *diem perdere* seems to be somewhat proverbial (Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer s.v. dies* 7 p. 114, supplement p. 124.). Ennodius says of certain savage men: Diem putabant perisse qui illos sine facinore casu aliquo interveniente fugisset (Ennod. p. 361. 16, ed. Hartel ; cf. also *id. Dictiones* 9 p. 450.). Pliny tells us the words of his uncle, warning him against wasting his time in walking: Repeto me correptum ab eo cur ambularem, "poteras" inquit, "has horas non perdere" (Plin. *Epist.* 3. 5. 16.). The passage from Claudianus, quoted by Otto, in this connection, *amissum ne crede diem* (Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 282.), seems hardly apropos, as the reference is clearly to the loss of the light of day and not as in the other passages to the loss of time. Cf. also *lux perditur*, Hor. *Sat.* 2. 6. 59.

2. Populum in primis universum tanta per omnis occasiones comitate tractavit, ut proposito (*7*) gladiatorio munere, non ad suum, sed ad spectantium arbitrium editurum se professus sit, et plane ita fecit. Nam neque negavit quicquam petentibus et ut quae vellent peterent ultro adhortatus est (*8*). Quin et (*9*) studium armaturae (*10*) Thraecum (*11*) prae se ferens saepe cum populo et voce et gestu ut fautor cavillatus est (*12*), verum maiestate salva (*13*) nec minus aequitate. Ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret, nonnumquam in thermis suis admissa plebe lavit (*14*).

(*7*) As in *Nero* 7. 2, Deductus in Forum tiro populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit, *proponere* has the force here of "announce" or "promise by announcement"; cf. also *Aug.* 42.2; *Tib.* 48.1.

(*8*) Very similar, although somewhat more extravagant, is Pliny's praise of Trajan's manner of giving shows (*Paneg.* 33) where he says: Quam deinde in edendo liberalitatem, quam iustitiam exhibuit omni adfectione aut intactus aut maior! Impetratum est quod postulabatur, oblatum quod non postulabatur. Institit ultro et ut concupisceremus admonuit. . . .

(*9*) Suetonius uses *et* for *etiam* commonly (*Jul.* 52; *Cal.* 20; etc.) and with *quin, et* is more usual (Cf. Baumgarten-Crusius, Index.).

(*10*) *armatura* is used by metonymy for the manner of fighting.

(*11*) The gladiators, called *Thraeces* (Friedl. *S. G.* II[6]. pp. 526-537.), who were also favored by Caligula (*Cal.* 54. 1, 55. 2.) usually fought with the *Samnites*, otherwise called *Hoplomachi*. The *Thraeces* carried the *parma*, or small round shield, from which, according to Festus, they were named, Thraeces gladiatores appellantur a similitudine parmularum Thraciarum (Festus p. 503, Lindsay .), while the Samnites had the large shield, *scutum*. Besides the *parma*, the *Thraeces* had a *sica*, a short curved sword, and were protected by a visor, a sleeve on the right arm, and greaves. They sometimes were pitted against *murmillones*. Domitian, who favored the last named type of gladiator, is said to have had a certain man thrown into the arena to the dogs with a placard bearing the inscription, *impie locutus parmularius*, ("a partisan of the Thracians who spoke treasonably") because he said that the Thracian was a match for the *murmillo*, but not for the giver of the games, i.e. Domitian (*Dom.* 10. 1.). Caligula, on the other hand, went so far in favoring the Thracians that angered by the crowd's opposition to his favorites, he shouted, "Utinam p. R. unam cervicem haberet!" (*Cal.* 30. 2; cf. 54. 1, 55. 2.)

(*12*) *Cavillor*, Greek *σκώπτω*, is used by Cicero intransitively in very much the sense we have here, where he tells Atticus of the banter he directed at Clodius: Itaque iam familiariter cum ipso cavillor ac iocor (Cic. *Att.* 2. 1. 5.). Festus defines, Cavillatio est iocosa calumniatio (Festus p. 39, Lindsay .).

(*13*) Sopater (in Stobaeus) warns rulers against jesting: *'Αφεκτέον δὲ καὶ σκωμμάτων τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄρχουσιν, ἧ καθαιρήσει τις τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς γελωτοποιεῖν πειρώμενος* (Stobaeus 4. 5. 56, ed. Hense .). The jests of Claudius and Vespasian were apparently not worthy of an emperor, in the opinion of Suetonius;

3. Quaedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio (*15*) Vesuvii montis in Campania, et incendium Romae (*16*) per triduum totidemque noctes, item pestilentia (*17*) quanta non temere (*18*) alias.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 12, Huius tempore mons Vesuvius in Campania ardere coepit, incendiumque Romae sine nocturna quiete per triduum fuit. 13, Lues quoque, quanta vix antea, fuit.

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 9, Abruptum tunc etiam Vesuvii montis verticem magna profudisse incendia ferunt, torrentibusque flammarum vicina regionis cum urbibus hominibusque delesse. . . . Et tamen tunc Romae orto repente incendio, plurimae aedes publicae concrematae sunt.

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at least he says of Vespasian, dicacitatis plurimae, etsi scurrilis et sordidae, and speaks rather scornfully of the "feeble and far-fetched jokes" of Claudius (*Claud.* 21. 5, Rolfe Transl.). The witticisms of Augustus are, however, quoted by him with apparent approval (*Aug.* 98. 3, 4.). Spartianus tells us that Hadrian was fond of making jokes, Ioca eius plurima exstant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus (Spart. *Hadr.* 20.8.).

(*14*) Hadrian bathed at the public baths with throngs of people (Spart. *Hadr.* 17.5.) and Lampridius (Lampr. *Alex.* 42.1.) says of Alexander Severus: Thermis et suis et veterum frequenter cum populo usus est et aestate maxime, balneari veste ad Palatium revertens, hoc solum imperatorium habens, quod lacernam cocceam accipiebat. Cf. Einhardus on Charles the Great (22): Et non solum filios ad balneum, verum optimates et amicos, aliquando etiam satellitum et custodum corporis turbam invitavit, ita ut nonnumquam centum vel eo amplius homines una lavarentur.

(*15*) *Vesuvii* was probably the reading of the archetype, although M read *ve**bii*, *Vesubii G*, for M reads *Vesuvio* below where G reads *Vesubio*.

Before this terrible eruption, which took place on Aug. 24th, 79 (On Vesuvius, cf. Daubeny, Charles, 2nd ed. [London 1848] *A Description of Active and Extinct Volcanos* pp. 217-238; Phillips, John, *Vesuvius*, Oxford 1869 ; Plin. *Epist.* 6. 16.), Vesuvius had been in a quiescent state for so long that all tradition of its ever having been an active volcano was forgotten. The earthquake of 63 (Sen. *Quaest. Nat.* 6. 1) was, of course, a warning of the renewed activity of the volcano. It was noted for the productivity of its slopes and of the surrounding country. In speaking of fertile soil, Vergil (Verg. *Georg.* 2. 224; cf. Mart. 4.44.) says:

Talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesevo
Ora iugo . . . .

Diodorus Siculus (Diodor. Sic. 4. 21. 5.) says: *καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ τόπος Οὐεσούιος, ἔχων πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κεκαῦσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους*, but he seems to have no actual knowledge of eruptions. Strabo (Strabo p. 247.) describes the summit as barren and covered with ashes, and observes, *ὡς τεκμαίροιτ' ἄν τις τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο καίεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἔχειν κρατῆρας πυρός, σβεσθῆναι δ' ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς ὕλης.* The eruption of

Dio 66. 21, Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καμπανίᾳ φοβερά τινα καὶ θαυμαστὰ συνηνέχθη· πῦρ γὰρ μέγα κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἐξαπιναίως ἐξήφθη· τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τὸ Βέσβιον ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Νέαν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ πυρὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους. . . 23, ... ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τέφρα ἀμύθητος ἀνεφυσήθη, καὶ τήν τε γῆν τήν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάντα κατέσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ χώραις καὶ βοσκήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἰχθῦας τά τε ὄρνεα πάντα διέφθειρε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας, τό τε Ἡρκουλάνεον καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους, ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ ὁμίλου αὐτῆς καθημένου κατέχωσε . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν τέφρα αὕτη οὐδὲν μέγα τότε κακὸν αὐτοὺς εἰργάσατο (ὕστερον γὰρ νόσον σφίσι λοιμώδη δεινὴν ἐνέβαλε), 24, πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπενείματο.

Plut. *Popl.* 15, τούτου δὲ, πάλιν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Οὐιτέλλιον στάσεσι διαφθαρέντος, τὸν τρίτον, τῇ πρὸς τἆλλα κἀν τούτῳ χρησάμενος εὐποτμίᾳ, Οὐεσπασιανός, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀναγαγὼν ἐπεῖδε γενόμενον, καὶ φθειρόμενον μετ' ὀλίγον οὐκ ἐπεῖδεν, . . . Ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τελευτῆσαι Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

Euseb. *Chron*, (Schoene II p. 158), Λοιμὸς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μέγας, ὡς καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ μυρίους θνήσκειν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας.

ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος κατὰ κορυφῆς ῥαγὲν πῦρ ἀνέβλυσε τοσοῦτον, ὡς καταφλέξαι τὴν παρακειμένην χώραν σὺν ταῖς πόλεσιν. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ μέγας κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμπρησμός.

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79 is vividly described by Pliny (Plin. *Epist.* 6. 16. cited above.) in his well-known letter to Tacitus. Dio (Dio 66. 21-24, cited above .) tells of it at length and adds certain supernatural details. He writes of huge men, οἷοι οἱ γίγαντες γράφονται, who appeared on the mountain and in the country around everywhere night and day, before the beginning of the eruption, which was itself preceded by drought and earthquakes. People thought the giants were rising in revolt when the eruption began, because huge forms were seen in the smoke and the sound of trumpets was heard. It is small wonder that the superstitious fears of the people were roused when the earth rocked and large stones and clouds of smoke and ashes poured out of the mountain and when the sun was screened as if in eclipse. This eruption made a great impression on the succeeding literature. Martial (Mart. 4. 44. 7-8.) describes the fertile slopes of the mountain before the eruption with extravagant praise and adds:

Cuncta iacent flammis et tristi mersa favilla:
Nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi.

Statius (Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.80.) describes the mountain as:

Aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis,

and Tacitus speaks (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 67.) of the beautiful bay of Naples, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. The only other recorded erup-

Plin. *Epist.* 6. 16, Nonum Kal. Septembres hora fere septima mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inusitata et magnitudine et specie. . . . . Nubes, incertum procul intuentibus ex quo monte (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est), oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus expresserit. Nam longissimo velut trunco elata in altum quibusdam ramis diffundebatur, credo, quia recenti spiritu evecta, dein senescente eo destituta aut etiam pondere suo victa in latitudinem vanescebat: candida interdum, interdum sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremve sustulerat. . . . . Interim e Vesuvio monte pluribus in locis latissimae flammae altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis excitabatur. Ille agrestium trepidatione ignes relictos desertasque villas per solitudinem ardere in remedium formidines dictitabat. . . . Iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior densiorque, quam tamen faces variaque lumina solabatur.

6. 20. 3, Praecesserat per multos dies tremor terrae minus formidolosus, quia Campaniae solitus. Illa vero nocte ita invaluit, ut non moveri omnia sed verti crederetur. . . . Egressi tecta consistimus. Multa ibi miranda, multas formidines patimur. Nam vehicula quae produci iusseramus, quamquam in planissimo campo,

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tions during the existence of the Roman Empire occurred in 203 (Dio 77. 2.) and 472 A. D. (Cassiod. *Var.* 4. 50.).

(*16*) There were a great many fires in Rome because of the manner of building, the height of the houses, and the narrowness of the streets. (Friedl. *S. G.* I[7]. pp. 21-23; Jordan I.1. pp. 482-483; Huelsen-Jordan I[3] p. 501; Werner, P. O. *De incendiis urbis Romae aetate imperatorum*, pp. 30-32 especially). Besides, there was never effective fire-protection. Although Augustus in 6 A. D. established a fire brigade of seven thousand men (Dio 55. 26.), the apparatus at their command was very simple, and they accomplished little, if we may judge from the frequency of fires in the period which followed. Under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 64, 6. 45; *Tib.* 48.1; Dio 58. 26.) there were two great conflagrations. The emperor made good the damage caused by one of these by an expenditure of 100,000,000 sesterces (about $5,000,000). Suetonius tells us that Caligula (*Cal.* 16.3.) helped financially people who had had losses by fires. The most terrible conflagrations were those of the time of Nero (*Nero* 38; Tac. *Ann.* 15. 39-41.) and Commodus (Dio 73. 24.). Besides, parts of the city were burned in the reign of Antoninus Pius (Capitol. *Pius* 9.1.) and again in 237 or 238 (Herodian. 7. 12. 5; Capitol. *Maxim.* 20.6, *Max. Balb.* 9. 3.). Dio names the buildings destroyed by the fire of the time of Titus (the year after the disaster in Campania, i.e., 80 A. D.) as follows, "It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage buildings of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books, and the temple of Jupiter

in contrarias partes agebantur ac ne lapidibus quidem fulta in eodem vestigio quiescebant. Praeterea mare in se resorberi et tremore terrae quasi repelli videbamus. Certe processerat litus multaque animalia maris siccis harenis detinebat. Ab altero latere nubes atra et horrenda ignei spiritus tortis vibratisque discursibus rupta in longas flammarum figuras dehiscebat: fulguribus illae et similes et maiores erant. . . . Vix consideramus, et nox non qualis inlunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine extincto. Audires ululatus feminarum, infantum quiritatus, clamores virorum. . . . Multi ad deos manus tollere, plures nusquam iam deos ullos aeternamque illam et novissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur. . . . Paulum reluxit, quod non dies nobis, adventantis ignis indicium videbatur. Et ignis quidem longius substitit, tenebrae rursus, cinis rursus multus et gravis. Hunc identidem adsurgentes excutiebamus; operti alioqui atque etiam oblisi pondere essemus.

Tac. *Hist.* 1. 2, Hausta aut obruta fecundissima Campaniae ora, urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris.

Capitolinus with the surrounding temples." Titus could hardly have done more than begin the restoration and rebuilding. Martial gives Domitian the honor of causing Rome to rise in renewed youth, like a Phoenix from her ashes (Mart. 5.7.).

(*17*) Such epidemics of disease were of frequent occurrence in Rome (Friedl. *S. G.* I[7], pp. 26-28.). Dio tells of some pestilences in the time of Augustus (Dio 53. 33, 54.1.). In the great plague of 65 A. D., thirty thousand burials in a single autumn were recorded in the accounts in the Temple of Libitina, the meeting-place and store-house of the undertakers. Of this pestilence Tacitus says: in qua (Roma) omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nulla caeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur; non sexus, non aetas periculo vacua; saevitia perinde et ingenua plebes raptim extingui, inter coniugum et liberorum lamenta, qui dum adsident, dum deflent, saepe eodem rogo cremabantur (Tac. *Ann.* 16. 13. 1-2; *Nero* 39.). Whether we consider the ὑπὲρ μυρίους of Eusebius an accurate number or used merely to signify the great multitude who perished, the former statement is perfectly credible in view of what is known of the epidemics mentioned above, as well as of the terrible plague which broke out in Babylonia in 162 A. D. and, brought to Rome by the army of Lucius Verus, spread over the whole Roman world and may even have been the cause of a Roman emperor's death (Capitol. *Aur.* 28.).

(*18*) Suetonius always uses *non temere* for the more common *non* or *haud facile* in the sense of "hardly."

IN IIS TOT ADVERSIS AC TALIBUS NON MODO PRINCIPIS SOLLICITUDINEM SED ET PARENTIS AFFECTUM *(19)* UNICUM *(20)* PRAESTITIT, NUNC CONSOLANDO PER EDICTA *(21)*, NUNC OPITULANDO QUATENUS SUPPETERET *(22)* FACULTAS.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 14, Quibus tamen malis nullo vexato pecunia propria subvenit cunctis remediorum generibus, nunc aegrotantes per semet ipsum reficiens, nunc consolans suorum mortibus afflictos.

(19) *affectus* does not appear in this sense of "love" until post-Augustan prose. Ovid (Ovid. *Met.* 7. 147; *Trist.* 4. 5. 30.) alone of Augustan writers uses it in this signification. Although the word occurs only here in Suetonius, the contrast with *principis sollicitudinem* clearly points to this meaning, "he showed not merely the concern of an emperor, but even a father's surpassing love" (Rolfe, *Suetonius*.). Tacitus frequently uses the word similarly, as in *Ann.* 13. 21.3, matrum adfectus ignotos habere. Plin. *Epist.* 2. 1. 8, mihi tutor relictus adfectum parentis exhibuit, offers a close parallel.

(20) unicus=eximius as in *Tib.* 2. 4.

(21) Cf. n. on 8. 1.

(22) Suetonius uses *suppetere* as here in the sense "to be at hand" also in *Aug.* 49.2; *Jul.* 42.1; *Cal.* 53.1; *Nero* 33.2.

4. Curatores (*23*) restituendae Campaniae e consularium numero sorte duxit; bona oppressorum in Vesuvio, quorum heredes non extabant, restitutioni afflictarum civitatium attribuit (*24*).

Dio 66. 24, *ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος τοῖς μὲν Καμπανοῖς δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οἰκιστὰς ἔπεμψε, καὶ χρήματα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄνευ κληρονόμων τεθνηκότων ἐδωρήσατο.*

(*23*) In imperial times there were regularly appointed commissions for the performance of certain duties which the censors and aediles had formerly fulfilled. Such were the *curatores aquarum, annonae, operum publicorum* etc. (*P.W.* IV. 2 pp. 1774-1811.). Besides these, special commissioners were appointed from time to time (*P.W.* IV. 2 pp. 1768-1770.). Such a curator was sometimes designated by the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 18.), sometimes by the senate (Plin. *Epist.* 2. 1. 9; Tac. *Hist.* 4. 47.), and sometimes chosen by lot (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 40; Dio 55. 25.). Their special function was a *cura*, but they frequently were called *tresviri* (Dio 55. 25.), *quinqueviri* (Plin. Epist 2. 1. 9.), etc., according to the number of members of the board. Gellius speaks of Q. Catulus, *curator restituendi Capitolii* (Gell. 2. 10. 2; cf. *Jul.* 15.); and in the *Digest* (*Dig.* 50. 4. 18. 10.) among the *munera personalia*, those offices which require personal services but no expense on the part of the incumbent, there are mentioned curatores ad extruenda vel reficienda aedificia publica sive palatia sive navalia. Sometimes there was but a single commissioner, as in the case of Lucius Vestinus, whom Vespasian appointed to restore the Capitol (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 5. 3.) and from the emphasis placed on the great influence of this man *inter proceres* in spite of his equestrian station, it is fair to judge that such appointments were usually made from men of consular rank. The only epigraphic evidence of the restoration in Campania is an inscription to Titus found in Naples, a city that must have been much shaken by the earthquake, for Statius (Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.4,5.) says of it,

procerum tibi nobile vulgus
Crescit et insani solatur damna Vesevi.

The inscription is as follows: Imp. Titus Caesar divi Vespasiani f. Vespasianus Aug., pont. max., trib. pot. X, imp. XV, cos. VIII, censor, p.p. . . ., terrae motibus conlapsa restituit (*CIL* X. 1481-Newton 101.).

(*24*) The property in such cases would have otherwise fallen to the state; cf. Ulp. *Reg.* 28.7, et si nemo sit ad quem bonorum possessio pertinere possit . . . . populo bona deferuntur ex lege Iulia caducaria. Originally the gens received the estate of anyone leaving no heirs (Darem. et Saglio *s.v. heres*; Gaius *Inst.* 3.17.). In the time of the Antonines, we are told, such property was turned over to the imperial fiscus (Ulp. *Reg.* 17.2.).

URBIS INCENDIO NIHIL PUBLICE NISI PERISSE (*25*) TESTATUS, CUNCTA PRAETORIORUM (*26*) SUORUM ORNAMENTA OPERIBUS AC TEMPLIS DESTINAVIT PRAEPOSUITQUE COMPLURIS EX EQUESTRI ORDINE, QUO QUAEQUE MATURIUS PERAGERENTUR. MEDENDAE VALITUDINI LENIENDISQUE MORBIS NULLAM DIVINAM HUMANAMQUE OPEM NON ADHIBUIT INQUISITO OMNI SACRIFICIORUM REMEDIORUMQUE GENERE.

Dio 66. 24, *αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε παρ' ἰδιώτου οὔτε παρὰ πόλεως οὔτε παρὰ βασιλέως, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλὰ διδόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπισχνουμένων, ἔλαβεν, ἀνέστησε μέντοι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντα.*

(*25*) *nichil nisi sibi perisse testatus publice* T
nichil nisi sibi publice perisse testatus OT *s* (vulg.).
nichil nisi sibi perisse publice testatus N
nichil publice perisse testatus Roth from MS. of Torrentius (?).

Preud 'homme in his text prints *nisi* in brackets. Baumgarten-Crusius, following Egnatius in the Aldines of 1516 and 1519, read *nihil nisi sibi publice perisse.* Alexander (Alexander p. 20-21.) would read *nihil publice nisi sibi perisse testatus* on the ground that *sibi* may easily have been omitted by the scribe of the MS. from which M, H, and G were copied and that the displacement of *publice* may have occurred from the fact that it was omitted and then written in the margin in such a position that some of the copyists placed it after *testatus*, but others after *nihil*, both of which words were at the end of the line, i.e.:

nihil
nisi perisse testatus publice.

With this reading the meaning must be "nothing had perished in a public way save only so far as he was concerned." This seems to have little point, for if Titus intended to make good the loss, it was sufficient for him to say, *nihil nisi sibi perisse* or *nihil publice perisse.* The best MS. authority is for the reading given above in the text, and the interpretation of the passage, "During the fire at Rome he made no remark except, 'I am ruined'" (Rolfe, *Suetonius* II p. 333.), gives a perfectly good meaning, well supported by the colloquial use of *perii* (Plaut. *Aul.* 720; Ter. *Adelph.* 327.). A slightly different interpretation is offered by G. Becker, "bei dem Brande der Stadt that er offentlich nichts weiter kund als dass es zu Grunde gegangen sei, aber die ganze Ausstattung seiner Laudhaüser für die Staatsbauten und Tempel . . . (G. Becker, *zur Kritik des Suet.*, Symbola Philog. Bonnensium, p. 691. 1864-67 pp. 685-694.).

(*26*) The word *praetorium*, originally standing for the quarters of the commander in a military camp, came to be used in later times in various derived senses. Among other meanings it designated the hall or residence on a country place or villa. Columella (Colum. 1. 6.) gives the name *urbana* to one part of a villa, namely the residence of the owner as distinct from the buildings having to do with the farm operations. The *Digest* (*Dig.* 50. 16. 198.) defines *urbana praedia*: Urbana praedia omnia aedificia accipimus, non solum ea quae sunt in oppidis, . . . vel si praetoria voluptati tantum deservientia, quia urbanum praedium non locus facit, sed materia. Perhaps Mayor on Juv. 1. 75 is right

CIL. VI. 2059-Newton 159, M. Tittio Frugi, T. Vinicio Iuliano cos., VII Idus Decembr., in Capitolio in aedem Opis sacerdotes convenerunt ad vota nuncupanda ad restitutionem et dedicationem Capitoli ab Imp. T. Caesare Vespasiano Aug. (Date 80 A. D.)

in his explanation of the origin of the use of *praetoria* in this sense, "The *urbana*, as headquarters of the peaceful camp, was named *praetorium*." The country villas of the emperors are frequently referred to under this name by Suetonius. He tells us that Augustus (*Aug.* 72. 3.) did not care for *ampla et operosa praetoria* and even leveled to the ground the luxurious one build by Julia. His own he decorated with beautiful landscape gardening and antiques, rather than with statues and paintings. Tiberius (*Tib.* 39.) barely escaped being killed by falling rocks near Tarracina *in praetorio cui Speluncae nomen est.* Caligula (*Cal.* 37. 2-3.) exercised his genius for fantastic extravagance in the construction of *praetoria* and villas. Martial (Mart. 10. 79.) compares the luxurious *praetoria* of the wealthy Torquatus and the modest *rus* of his near neighbor.

5. Inter adversa temporum et delatores mandatoresque (*27*) erant ex licentia veteri (*28*). Hos assidue in Foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac novissime traductos per amphitheatri harenam (*29*) partim subici ac venire (*30*) imperavit (*31*), partim in asperrimas insularum avehi (*32*).

Dio 66. 19, τούς τε μηνυτὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

(*27*) *amendatoresque* M, *amandatoresque* G, s, *amandoresque* Υ, *mandatoresque* X. The text here is troublesome. The best MS. favors *amendatores*, which, however, is a word found nowhere else. The verb *amendo* and a noun *amenddatio* (*Thes. L. L. s. v.*) do appear with the meaning "banish" and "banishment," but in every case where they appear there is doubt as to the MSS. readings. The meaning would not be satisfactory if *amendator* were supposed to be a noun of the agent from this verb. *Mandator*, however, is used in post-Augustan judicial language for the man employing the *delator* to make the accusation; cf. *Dig.* 49. 14. 2. 5: Divus Pius Caecilio Maximo rescripsit, constitutionem patris sui, qua compelleretur delator edere mandatorem ac nisi edidisset, ut in vincula deduceretur: eo pertinere, non ut delator poena subduceretur, si mandatorem haberet; sed ut mandator quoque perinde, atque si ipse detulisset, puniretur. This meaning seems to be a natural development of the more usual meaning, "one who gives a charge or commission" (*Dig.* 3. 2. 20.). We read *mandatores* then from X in view of the excellent sense it gives and the impossibility of understanding *amendatores* in this connection.

(*28*) *delatores . . . ex licentia veteri.* Tacitus tells us that the offering of rewards to those who reported violations of the Lex Papia Poppaea in the reign of Augustus led later to the great excesses of the *delatores*, which made the institution a terror to citizens and a menace to liberty (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 28. 4-6.). Tiberius at first attempted to find a remedy (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 73. 1.); but later in his reign the power of the informers reached its height and he not only defended them when they were in danger of losing their rewards in the case of suicide of their victims (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 19 ff.), but he maintained that the laws would be in vain without them (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 30.). Tacitus adds, Sic delatores genus hominum publico exitio repertum et ne poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur. Suetonius (*Tib.* 6. 2.)says of the rule of Tiberius, Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. Caligula early in his reign said that he had no ears for informers (*Cal.* 15. 4.) and even Nero reduced their rewards to a fourth of the former amount (*Nero* 10. 1.). Later, however, when he needed to reimburse the fiscus for his extravagant expenditures, he made use of them (*Nero* 32. 2.) to such an extent that when he was requiring large sums from private individuals for his Gallic campaign the desperate citizens demanded that he take back the rewards from the informers (*Nero* 44. 2.). In view of the virtuous beginning of other princes in this respect it is possible that Titus would have weakened if he had lived until after the fiscus had been drained by his ill-advised generosity (Dio 66. 18; *Tit.* 8. 1; Herzog II p. 300.). Even Domitian, although he later made use of informers (*Dom.* 11. 1; Dio 67.1.), repressed this evil at first and said, Princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat (*Dom.* 9. 3.). Dio tells us that he was especially severe

Mart. *Epigr.* 4,

Turba gravis paci placidaeque inimica quieti,
Quae semper miseras sollicitabat opes,
Traducta est Getulis nec cepit harena nocentis,
Et delator habet quod dabat exilium.

4b, Exulat Ausonia profugus delator ab urbe:
Haec licet impensis principis adnumeres.

---

to slaves who informed on their masters (Dio 67. 1.). The next check the evil received was from Trajan. Pliny in his *Panegyric* speaks of conditions in the past: Non solitudinem illi, non iter, sed templum sed forum insederant. Nulla iam testamenta secura, nullus status certus; non orbitas, non liberi proderant. Auxerat hoc malum principum avaritia (Plin. *Paneg.* 34.) . . . He speaks also of the action of Titus, ingenti quidem animo divus Titus securitati nostrae ultionique prospexerat . . . (Plin. *Paneg.* 35.).

(*29*) It was customary to punish criminals in the amphitheatre (Friedl. *S. G.*, append. II. p. 190, English Transl.). That such punishment was especially disgraceful is indicated, perhaps, by the desire of the populace to have the body of Tiberius, whom they hated, half-burned in the arena as an insult to his memory (*Tib.*. 75. 3.). Caligula, however, punished criminals indiscriminately in the same place (*Cal.* 27.1.) and Hadrian ordered spendthrifts beaten (Spart. *Hadr.* 18.9). in the amphitheatre. After Titus, Trajan was the next to use the arena as the scene of the punishment and disgrace of the *delatores*. Pliny compares the shows given by Trajan with those of earlier times, when no one was certain not to become a spectacle from being a spectator, when men charged with treason were punished in the amphitheatre, and when treason might consist in not favoring gladiators dear to the emperor. He then continues: At tu, Caesar, quam pulchrum spectaculum pro illo nobis execrabili reddisti! Vidimus delatorum iudicium quasi grassatorum, quasi latronum (Plin. *Paneg.* 34.).

(*30*) Cf. Cal. 38. 4, auctione proposita reliquias omnium spectaculorum subiecit et venditavit. With *subici* in these passages *hastae* or *praeconi* is probably understood, or *voci praeconis*; cf. Cic. *Off.* 3. 83: Sic par est agere cum civibus, non, ut bis iam vidimus, hastam in foro ponere, et bona civium voci subicere praeconis.

(*31*) By edict, according to Plin. *Paneg.* 35, (speaking of the suppression of *delatores*) Id hoc magis arduum fuit, quod imperator Nerva te filio, te successore dignissimus perquam magna quaedam edicto Titi adstruxerat . . . .

(*32*) The punishment here referred to may be banishment to definite islands such as Gyarus (Juv. 1.73; Mayor's note.), Seriphus and Sciathus, which Seneca calls *asperrimas insulas* (Sen. *Dial.* 12.6.4.), or, as Boecler attempted to show, the informers may have been put in boats and set adrift, as Caesar once threatened to do to his soldiers when a panic seized them (*Jul.* 66.). Plin. *Paneg.* 34, Congesti sunt in navigia raptim conquisita ac tempestatibus dediti . . . , undoubtedly refers to that form of punishment, but there is no reason to infer from that passage that Titus also used this method in punishing informers and the expression *in asperrimas insularum* seems even to preclude such an interpretation.

UTQUE ETIAM SIMILIA QUANDOQUE AUSUROS PERPETUO COERCERET, VETUIT INTER CETERA DE EADEM RE PLURIBUS LEGIBUS AGI QUAERIVE DE CUIUSQUAM DEFUNCTORUM STATU ULTRA CERTOS ANNOS (*33*).

(*33*) In view of *Dig*. 40. 15. 4, primus omnium Nerva edicto vetuit, post quinquennium mortis cuiusque de statu quaeri, it is probable that the laws of Titus on this subject were repealed by his brother and so no account of his action is taken by the jurists. Of course, it is possible that Suetonius was mistaken, misled, perhaps, by the general similarity of many of Nerva's acts to those of Titus. This action was imitated by Hadrian (*Dig*. 40. 15. 1. 2.) and Marcus Aurelius (Capitol. *Aur*. 9.9.).

IX. PONTIFICATUM MAXIMUM IDEO SE PROFESSUS ACCIPERE UT PURAS SERVARET MANUS (*1*), FIDEM PRAESTITIT, NEC AUCTOR POSTHAC CUIUSQUAM NECIS NEC CONSCIUS, QUAMVIS INTERDUM ULCISCENDI CAUSA NON DEESSET, SED PERITURUM SE POTIUS QUAM PERDITURUM ADIURANS.

Eutr. 7. 21. 2, Romae tantae civilitatis in imperio fuit, ut nullum omnino puniret, convictos adversum se coniurationis dimiserit et in eadem familiaritate qua antea habuerit.

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 9. 13, Cuius tanta tranquillitas in imperio fuit, ut nullius omnino sanguinem in re publica administranda fudisse referatur.

Auson. 271. 2, p. 190 Peiper, (Titus) Expers civilis sanguinis. . .

Dio 66. 18, *ὁ δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχήσας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθείς. . . .*

Dio 66. 19, *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τίτος οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐτελεύτησε. Τάς τε δίκας τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας οὔτ' αὐτός ποτε ἐδέξατο, οὔτ' ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεψεν, λέγων ὅτι, "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὑβρισθῆναι οὔτε προπηλακισθῆναι δύναμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄξιόν τι ἐπηγορίας ποιῶ, οὔτε μοι μέλει τῶν ψευδῶς λεγομένων· οἱ δὲ μετηλλαχότες τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς, ἄνπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἥρωές τε ὦσι καὶ δύναμίν τινα ἔχωσι, τιμωρήσουσιν ἄν τί τις αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσῃ."*

(*1*) *puras manus*. This expression is used commonly in the sense of ***hands free from blood-guilt*** as in Hor. Sat. 1.4. 67-68:

. . . . at bene si quis
Et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.

This is like the Greek, *καθαραὶ χεῖρες* (Herod. 1. 35; Aeschyl. *Eum.* 313.). The prayers prefatory to sacrifices warned those who had not pure hands from taking part in the sacred rites, according to a passage in Livy (Liv. 45. 5.4.) where it is clear that the defilement of blood is meant. Perhaps the meaning is the same in Seneca (Sen. *Nat.* 3. praef. 14.) where he uses the expression, puras manus ad caelum tollere. Except in so far as the pontifex maximus was the director of sacred rites, there is no special point in Titus's declaration in regard to his intention to keep his hands pure while holding this office. The emperors regularly held the office (Momms. *St. R.* II³ p. 1106, II² p. 1052 ff.) and his predecessors seem to have felt no special obligations because of it. Augustus assumed the office in 13 B. C., for he had been unwilling to take the honor from Lepidus during his life time (*Aug.* 31. 1.). During the first century of the Empire the emperors did not necessarily enter on this office at the beginning of their reign (Momms. *St. R. ibid.*). Whether Titus assumed its functions at once or not is uncertain, but we know that he did so before the end of 79 A. D. (Cohen I. Titus 70, 138, 148, 206, etc.).

Duos patricii generis convictos (2) in adfectatione (3) imperii nihil amplius quam ut desisterent monuit (4), docens principatum fato dari (5), si quid (6) praeterea desiderarent promittens se tributurum.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 3, neque minus sancte facilis in tuendis, qui forte in se coniuravissent, adeo ut, cum amplissimi ordinis duo abnuere cogitatum scelus nequirent patresque censuissent de confessis supplicium sumendum, deductos in spectaculum se utrimque adsidere iusserit petitoque ex industria gladiatoris quorum pugnae visebantur gladio, quasi ad explorandam aciem uni atque alteri committeret. Quis perculsis et constantiam mirantibus, "Videtisne," inquit, "potestates fato dari frustraque temptari facinus potiundi spe vel amittendi metu?"

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 10, (varying only slightly from the preceding).

(2) Suetonius uses various constructions with *convincere*. In *Claud.* 14. we again find *in* with the abl. of the charge. He also uses this verb with the genitive (*Jul.* 43. 1; *Tib.* 1. 2.), the ablative alone (*Nero* 31. 3.) and absolutely (*Dom.* 8. 4.). Although not so common as the genitive, the ablative with *in* is found in Cicero (Cic. *Verr.* 4.104, *Sulla* 83.) as well as in Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 44. 5.), Pliny (Plin. *Nat.* 18. 12.) and Seneca (Sen. *Epist.* 86. 10.).

(3) *adfectatio* is a post-Augustan word, meaning "a striving after." It is used here as in Quint. *Decl.* 267, *adfectatio tyrannidis* and in *Gram.* 10, nimia priscorum verborum affectatione. In *Tib.* 70. 1. the word approaches "affectation" in meaning, and as a term of rhetoric it is so used; cf. *Thes. L. L. s.v.* I. p. 1175-1176.

(4) Cf. *Jul.* 75. 5: Itaque et detectas coniurationes conventusque nocturnos non ultra arguit, quam ut edicto ostenderet esse sibi notas, et acerbe loquentibus satis habuit pro contione denuntiare ne perseverarent. . . .

(5) The principle of the divine right of kings is expressed by the words of Odysseus in the *Iliad*, τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διός ἐστι (Hom. *Il.* II. 197.). Marcus Aurelius wrote an interesting letter to Verus in regard to Avidius Cassius, who Verus thought ought to be put to death as an aspirant to the principate. In this he says, Nam si ei divinitus debetur imperium, non poterimus interficere, etiamsi velimus. Scis enim proavi tui dictum: "Successorem suum nullus occidit." Sin minus, ipse sponte sine nostra crudelitate fatales laqueos inciderit (Gallican. *Avid.* 2.1, 2.). Vegetius (Veg. *Mil.* 2. 5.) says, Deo enim vel privatus vel militans servit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui Deo regnat auctore. Cassiodorus preserves the letter of King Witiges to the Goths: "Though every advance in station is to be accounted among the good gifts of the divinity, especially is the kingly dignity to be looked upon as coming by His ordinance through whom kings reign and subjects obey" (Cassiod. *Var.* 10. 31, Transl. Hodgkin 1886 .). Cf. *Prov.* 8. 15-16: By me kings reign and princes decree justice. By me princes and nobles, even all the judges of the earth.

(6) *quid* is found in G N s, while the other MSS. read *quod*.

2. ET CONFESTIM QUIDEM AD ALTERIUS MATREM QUAE PROCUL ABERAT, CURSORES *(7)* SUOS MISIT, QUI ANXIAE SALVUM FILIUM NUNTIARENT, CETERUM IPSOS NON SOLUM FAMILIARI CENAE *(8)* ADHIBUIT *(9)*, SED ET INSEQUENTI DIE GLADIATORUM SPECTACULO CIRCA SE EX INDUSTRIA CONLOCATIS OBLATA SIBI FERRAMENTA *(10)* PUGNANTIUM INSPICIENDA *(11)* PORREXIT. DICITUR ETIAM COGNITA UTRIUSQUE GENITURA *(12)* IMMINERE AMBOBUS PERICULUM ADFIRMASSE, VERUM QUANDOQUE ET AB ALIO, SICUT EVENIT.

Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 3;
Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 10 on ch. 9. 1.

(7) The *cursores* (Marq. *Prl.* p. 150 nn. 6, 7.) were slaves who attended the *lectica* of the master, i.e., "runners." They were especially trained for purposes of speed (Petron. 29.) and were used to carry messages, as in this case (Suet. *Nero* 49.1; Nep. *Milt.* 43; Tac. *Agr.* 43.).

(8) Cf. *Tib.* 13.1, familiari quondam convivio. The meaning seems to be "a dinner party of friends."

(9) Lampridius tells a similar story of the treatment of a conspirator by Alexander Severus: cum quidam Ovinius Camillus senator antiquae familiae delicatissimus rebellare voluisset tyrannidem affectans, eique nuntiatum esset ac statim probatum, ad Palatium eum rogavit, eique gratias egit, quod curam rei publicae quae recusantibus bonis imponeretur, sponte reciperet; deinde ad senatum processit et timentem ac tantae conscientiae tabe confectum participem imperii appellavit, in Palatium recepit, convivio adhibuit . . . Alexander's method of cure was different, however, for he gave the aspirant to power such an overdose of imperial routine that he was glad enough to retire to his villas with his life (Lamprid. *Alex.* 48.).

(10) A few of the MSS. (T) read *ornamenta.* *Ferramenta* is used colloquially in reference to *gladii* and *sicae* in Cic. *Cat.* 3. 10; and in *Sulla* 55, the magistrate appears at a gladiatorial show *ad ferramenta prospicienda.* Ernesti in an excursus on this passage showed quite satisfactorily that *ornamenta, ornatus,* etc., when used of armor, usually refer to armor of defense.

(11) The *editor* of the games regularly inspected the arms before the commencement of the combat; cf. Darem. et Saglio *s. v. imperator,* Vol. II. p. 1594. Dio (68.3) tells a similar story of Emperor Nerva and a man named Calpurnius Crassus who had conspired against him.

(12) Suetonius always uses *genitura* in the sense of *natal star* or *nativity* in astrological terminology (*Aug.* 94. 12; *Cal.* 57.2; *Nero* 6. 1; *Vit.* 3. 2; *Vesp.* 25.).

3. **Fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem (*13*), sed paene ex professo sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, neque occidere neque seponere (*14*) ac ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit (*15*), sed, ut a primo imperii die, consortem (*16*) successoremque testari perseveravit, nonnumquam secreto precibus et lacrimis orans, ut tandem mutuo erga se animo vellet esse.**

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 14, Fratrem quoque Domitianum parantem insidias militumque animos sollicitantem flens saepius obtestatus est, ne parricidio adsequi cuperet, quod et se volente esset obventurum ei et eam haberet, cum sit particeps potestatis.

Dio 66. 26, *ὡς μὲν ἡ φήμη λέγει, πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἀναλωθείς, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβεβούλευτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. . . .*

(*13*) Suetonius shows that it was necessary for Vespasian to curb the ambition of the young Domitian and tells of the prince's various attempts, ut fratri se et opibus et dignatione adaequaret (*Dom.* 1. 3, 2. 1.). Tacitus (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 51, 52.) describes the behavior of Domitian before Vespasian's arrival in Rome, stating that he was overstepping the limits that belonged to his time of life and assuming more than could be conceded to a son. The confidential conversation between father and son, where Tacitus represents Titus as speaking in behalf of his brother in regard to the adverse rumors, is hardly to be regarded as history, as Gsell (Gsell, p. 13.) points out. It is rather the result of an effort to bring out the contrast between the natures of the two princes.

(*14*) *seponere* is not a technical term for "banish," but is, in general, used where some one is sent away really into banishment, but under some special pretence; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4. 44.5, adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur; also Tac. *Hist.* 1. 13, Mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit. Suetonius (Suet. *Aug.* 65.1.) uses this verb in speaking of the action of Augustus in regard to Agrippa, Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum.

(*15*) Suetonius employs *sustinere* in the sense "to be able to endure," "to have the heart" (Rolfe *Transl. Tit.* 9. 3.), as here, always with the negative (*Jul.* 74. 1, 75.2; *Tib.* 2. 4; *Vesp.* 13; *Aug.* 66. 4.) except in *Cal.* 30. 3, hanc ut crudelissimam caedem et deflevit edicto et eos qui spectare sustinuissent exsecratus est.

(*16*) This use of *consors* is interesting. In Suetonius the only other instances are where he speaks of Titus Tatius (*Tib.* 1. 1.), *consors Romuli*, and again (*Otho*, 8.1.) in reference to the joint emperorship offered to Vitellius by Otho when the German army hailed the former as Emperor after the latter had assumed the principate (consortem imperii generumque se Vitellio obtulit). Tacitus, Pliny,

Dom. 2. 3, Patre defuncto diu cunctatus an duplum donativum militi offerret, numquam iactare dubitavit relictum se participem imperii, sed fraudem testamento adhibitam; neque cessavit ex eo insidias struere fratri clam palamque. . . .

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and Velleius use the expression, ***consors tribuniciae potestatis*** (Tac. ***Ann.*** 1.3.3, Tiberius with Augustus; Plin. ***Paneg.*** 8.6., Trajan with Nerva; consortio t. p., Vell. Pat. 2. 99.1, 103, Tiberius with Augustus.). Valerius Maximus speaks of a colleague in the censorship as ***consortem censurae*** (Val. Max. 6. 4. 2.); ***consortium*** is a term used sometimes of the relationship of the two ***Augusti*** in the days of the dual principate (Amm. 26. 4. 1.). We are told that Marcus Aurelius made Verus, ***sibi consortem . . . . cum illi soli Senatus detulisset imperium*** (Capitol. ***Ver.*** 3. 8.). Here there can be no reference to any such real partnership in rule (cf. n. on 6. 1 ad init.) for Domitian did not even have the tribunician power and we are told that Marcus Aurelius and Verus were the first to wield equal power (Spart. ***Ael.*** 5.12, 13.). The word must have a more general sense here, as Tacitus uses it where he says Mucianus was planning to make himself ***consortem imperii*** with Vespasian (Tac. ***Hist.*** 3. 75.) and where he employs the term ***consortium regni*** for the share the wife of a ruler might have in the power (Tac. ***Ann.*** 4.3.3, 14.11.1.). Certainly it must be observed that ***consors*** combined with ***successor*** could only be used in this partial sense, since there would be no point in designating as successor a full partner in power.

X. INTER HAEC MORTE PRAEVENTUS EST (*1*) MAIORE HOMINUM DAMNO QUAM SUO. SPECTACULIS ABSOLUTIS, IN QUORUM FINE POPULO CORAM UBERTIM FLEVERAT, SABINOS (*2*) PETIT ALIQUANTO TRISTIOR, QUOD SACRIFICANTI HOSTIA AUFUGERAT (*3*) QUODQUE TEMPESTATE SERENA TONUERAT (*4*).

Eutr. 7. 22. 1, Per haec inusitato favore dilectus morbo periit.

Euseb. Chron. (Schoene II p. 158), *ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὑπάτων πάθει δεινῷ βληθεὶς Τίτος ἀπέθανεν, ὢν ἐτῶν μβ.*

Dio 66. 26, *Διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ καταδακρύσας, ὥστε πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπί τε τοῦ Φλαουίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τῶν ὑπάτων, καθιερώσας ὅσα εἴρηται, μετήλλαξεν. . . .*

Dom. 2. 3, . . . quoad (Titum) correptum gravi valitudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deseri iussit.

(*1*) The statements as to the cause of the death of Titus vary considerably and no certain conclusion can be drawn. Suetonius is supported in his statement *febrim nanctus*, by Victor in the *Epitome*, but in the *Caesares* the word *veneno* appears in place of *febri*. Now Suetonius himself in *Dom.* 2. 3. implies at least neglect of Titus at the time of his death on the part of Domitian. Dio (Dio 66.26.) says that some writers maintain he was carried off by disease, although it was the common report that he was done to death by his brother. He then says, "The tradition is that, while he was still breathing and had a possible chance of recovery, Domitian, to hasten his end, put him in a box packed with a quantity of snow, pretending that the disease required a chill to be administered (Zon. 11. 19. C.), and, before his victim was dead, he rode off to Rome, entered the camp, and received the title and authority of emperor . . ." (Trans. of Dio 66. 26, Foster; cf. Cedren *Hist. Compend.* 217 C.). Plutarch (Plut. *de San. Tuenda* 123 D.) mentions Titus as one of those who perished from bathing at an inopportune time, namely after eating. Philostratus (Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 32.) says that he was poisoned by Domitian by the introduction of the fish called the sea-hare (*lepus*) into his food which "causes a secret disease in the body worse and more fatal than anything else either in the sea or on land." This Domitian used in order to remove Titus, "not because he objected to sharing his throne with his brother, but to sharing it with one both gentle and good." Reference to this appears also in Tzetzes, Chil. VI. 278, *Τίτος δὲ θνήσκει βεβρωκὼς λαγὼν τῶν θαλασσίων.* Others merely mention that his brother poisoned him (Suid. *s.v.* *Δομιτιανός*; Georgius Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 648-649, Dindorf). The most interesting tradition is that which was circulated among the Jews as early as the second century to the effect that as punishment for his misdeeds—the destruction of Jerusalem and incidents in connection with it—he was tortured day and night by a gnat in his brain, which finally caused his death (Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* IV 2nd ed. 117-118; Salvador, *Geschichte der Römerherrschaft in Judaea* II. 416.). The weeping (*Tit.* 10. 1; Dio 66. 26.) which is recorded by Suetonius and Dio

DEINDE AD PRIMAM STATIM MANSIONEM (5) FEBRIM NANCTUS (6), CUM INDE LECTICA TRANSFERRETUR, SUSPEXISSE DICITUR DIMOTIS PALLULIS (7) CAELUM, MULTUMQUE CONQUESTUS ERIPI SIBI VITAM IMMERENTI; NEQUE ENIM EXTARE ULLUM SUUM FACTUM PAENITENDUM EXCEPTO DUM TAXAT UNO.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 15, febri interiit.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 5, veneno . . . interiit.

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seems to indicate a state of ill health, and it is more than probable that Domitian's slight neglect of his brother gave rise to stories which gained credence because of the bad reputation of Domitian.

(2) From *Vesp.* 24 and *Tit.* 11 it is clear that the destination of Titus was the villa at Cutiliae, near Reate, for that is where Vespasian died.

(3) Pliny (Müller's *Handbuch* V. 4. p. 416. n. 6.; Pliny. *Nat.* 8. 183.) says, Hoc quoque notatum, vitulos ad aras umeris hominis adlatos non fere litare, sicut nec claudicante nec aliena hostia deos placari nec trahente se ab aris. Julius Caesar, of whom Suetonius says, Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam, vel retardatus est, disregarded this omen: Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem et Iubam non distulit. Galba (*Galba* 18. 1.) was much perturbed by the breaking loose of a bull about to be sacrificed and Statius (Stat. *Theb.* 11. 228 ff.) describes a similar occurrence which was disregarded with dire consequences.

(4) Thunder from a clear sky was naturally enough considered a sign from Zeus. In the *Odyssey* (Hom. *Od.* 20. 112 ff.) this appears as a prodigy,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσεις,
ἦ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεῳ τόδε φαίνεις.

Horace (Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.2-8.) tells us that he was led back to belief in the gods,

insanientis dum sapientiae
consultus erro, . . .

by the sound of thunder from the clear sky:

Namque Diespiter,
Igni corusco nubila dividens
Plerumque, per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum;

Vergil (Verg. *Georg.* 1. 487.) refers to this phenomenon as of unfavorable signification,

Non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
Fulgura, nec diri totiens arsere cometae.

However, it seems that thunder on the left even from a clear sky was favorable according to Roman auguries (Cic. *Div.* 2. 82; Verg. *Aen.* 9. 630, 631.).

(5) *mansio* from *manere* in the sense of "pass the night" (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5. 87; *Aug.* 72. 1.) like English, "I am staying at such and such a place," was used of

Auson. 271. 3. p. 190 Peiper, unum dixisti moriens te crimen habere: set nulli de te, nec tibi credidimus.

Dio 66. 26, *ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος ἀποψύχων εἶπε μὲν ὅτι "ἓν μόνον ἐπλημμέλησα."*

the stations on public roads where provision for spending the night was made. Pliny uses the word as a measure of distance, in quo octo mansionibus distat regio eorum (Plin. *Nat.* 12. 52.).

(6) *febrim nanctus*, "contracted a fever," as in Nep. *Att.* 21.2, nactus est morbum . . . .

(7) The best MSS. read *pallulis* (M, L, P, s) (*Hermes* 37. p. 590.). The meaning "curtain" for *palla* (Sen. *de Ira* 3. 22.2; cf. Marq. *Prl.* II 577 n. 5.) is found and the diminutive may reasonably be taken to mean "small curtains," —in the context the curtains at the window of the *lectica*, which would be drawn to keep out the sun from the sick man. The other readings *palludis* G, *paludib*; T, *paludamentis* O, s, T are manifestly corruptions of the unusual word. Of various readings in the more recent MSS. *plagulis*, although one of the worst attested, won the most support among the early editors. Harper gives the meaning "curtain" for *plagula*, mentioning two passages in Nonius Marcellus (Non. p. 378 M 7, p. 86 M 5.) and one in Livy (Liv. 39. 6. 7.) besides this passage. None of these could be said certainly to refer to curtains except our passage, where the reading itself is uncertain. Bentley preferred *pellibus* and thought that the removing of the leather covering of the *lectica* was meant.

2 ID QUALE FUERIT (*8*), NEQUE IPSE TUNC PRODIDIT NEQUE CUIQUAM FACILE SUCCURRAT (*9*). QUIDAM OPINANTUR CONSUETUDINEM RECORDATUM, QUAM CUM FRATRIS UXORE HABUERIT; SED NULLAM HABUISSE PERSANCTE DOMITIA IURABAT, HAUD NEGATURA, SI QUA OMNINO FUISSET, IMMO ETIAM GLORIATURA, QUOD ILLI PROMPTISSIMUM ERAT IN OMNIBUS PROBRIS (*10*).

Dio 66. 26, *τί δὲ δὴ τοῦτο εἴη οὐ διεσάφησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ οἱ δὲ τὸ κατείκασαν. κρατεῖ δ' οὖν, ὡς μέν τινες λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα ἔσχεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, οἷς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, ὅτι τὸν Δομιτιανὸν σαφῶς ἐπιβουλεύσαντά οἱ λαβὼν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθεῖν τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἵλετο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ ἐξέδωκεν οἷον ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει.*

(*8*) What it was that called for the repentance of Titus is a question which has been variously answered. Among the early commentators Casaubon took exception to the theory Dio upholds, on the ground that Suetonius's words *factum paenitendum* mean a deed, not merely something which he had omitted to do. Both Suetonius and Dio have little faith in the belief that he referred to an undue intimacy with his brother's wife. Suetonius even gives fairly good grounds for rejecting this piece of scandal. Some have thought that the evil deed was a figment of the sick man's fevered brain, following the suggestion of Ausonius (Auson. 271. 3-4, p. 190 Peiper.) that nothing he had done really required repentance. Duruy (Duruy, Transl. Ripley Vol. V, p. 166 n. 1.) suggests that it may have been the murder of Caecina without form of trial. Müller (Müller, M.C.G., *ad Suet. Tranq. Observationes* p. 23.) thinks he may have referred to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. A very ingenious theory (*T.A.P.A.* Vol. 45. pp. 42-46, J. C. Rolfe .) has recently been advanced—that Domitian's accusation of Titus was true, that Vespasian left his two sons as joint successors in his will, and that Titus unwilling to be hampered by his brother and skillful as he was in imitating handwriting, changed his father's will to suit himself. This would be a deed of which he might well repent and one that his historians would hardly accept in view of the eulogizing tone they take in regard to him.

(*9*) Cf. *Tib.* 21.6, succurritque versus ille Homericus.

(*10*) Tacitus expresses somewhat the same idea in regard to Messalina's marriage with Silius, nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit ob magnitudinem infamiae, cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 25.6.).

XI. EXCESSIT IN EADEM QUA PATER VILLA (*1*) ID. SEPT. POST BIENNIUM AC MENSES DUOS DIESQUE XX (*2*) QUAM SUCCESSERAT (*3*) PATRI, ALTERO ET QUADRAGESIMO AETATIS ANNO (*4*).

Eutr. 7. 22. 1, periit in ea, qua pater, villa post biennium et menses octo, dies viginti, quam imperator erat factus aetatis anno altero et quadragesimo.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10. 5. biennio post ac menses fere novem . . . interiit anno aevi quadragesimo.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. 1, imperavit annos duos et menses duos diesque viginti . . . 15. vixit annos quadraginta unum et in eodem, quo pater, apud Sabinos agro febri interiit.

Oros. *Hist.* 7. 9. 13, biennio post Vespasianum regnavit . . . 14, in eadem villa, qua pater eius, morbo absumptus est.

Auson. 258. 11, p. 185 Peiper, Ter dominante Tito cingit nova laurea Janum:

Auson. 259. 11, p. 186 At Titus, orbis amor, rapitur florentibus annis.

Dio 66. 26, *μετήλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, . . . ἦρξε δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσιν, ὡς προείρηται.*

(*1*) Cf. n. on *Sabinos*, 10. 1.

(*2*) Suetonius reckons from the day of Vespasian's death, June 23rd, 79, cf. *Vesp.* 24.

(*3*) The pluperfect indicative with *post* . . . *quam* is most commonly used when the time by which the action of the dependent clause precedes the main clause is definitely stated either by an ablative or, as here, by the accusative depending on *post.* Suetonius, however, uses the perfect in an exactly similar passage, *Nero* 6. 1, Nero natus est Anti post VIIII mensem quam Tiberius excessit; and nowhere else does he have the pluperfect with *postquam* (Kühner II. 2. § 207. 3. p. 355; Düpow, p. 5.).

(*4*) Cf. n. on *Tit.* 1, natus est. . . .

Quod ut palam factum est (*5*), non secus atque in domestico luctu maerentibus publice cunctis (*6*), senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur ad curiam concurrit, (*7*), obseratisque adhuc foribus, deinde apertis, tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesque congessit (*8*) quantas ne vivo quidem umquam aeque praesenti (*9*).

Eutr. 7. 22. 2, Tantus luctus eo mortuo publicus fuit, ut omnes tamquam in propria doluerint orbitate. Senatus, obitu ipsius circa vesperam nuntiato, nocte inrupit in curiam, et tantas ei mortuo laudes gratiasque congessit, quantas nec vivo umquam egerat nec praesenti.

Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 10. 6, huius sane mors adeo provinciis luctui fuit, uti . . . orbatum orbem deflerent.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit*. 10. 16, Huius mors, credi vix potest, quantum luctus urbi provinciisque intulerit, adeo ut eum . . . quasi perpetuo custode orbatum terrarum orbem deflerent.

Oros. *Hist*. 7. 9. 14, cum ingenti omnium luctu.

Cedren. *Hist. Comp*. 217 D, *τοσοῦτος δὲ θρῆνος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτοῦ κατέσχε τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τοῦτον ἀπομνημονεύοντες καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ ἀναλογιζόμενοι δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ' οἴκους κλαίειν, ὥσπερ οἰκείῳ πάθει κατεχόμενος ἕκαστος.*

(*5*) *palam facere* is quite commonly used by Suetonius of the public announcement of the death of some one; cf. *Nero* 8, Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio palam factum est . . .; also *Cal*. 6. 2; *Tib*. 22.

(*6*) Cf. the remarks of Suetonius (*Cal*. 5.) in regard to the expression of grief by the people at the death of Germanicus, velut in domestico communique maerore. Tacitus (Tac. *Ann*. 2. 82.) in speaking of the same time says that the people began the *iustitium* of their own accord without waiting for the decree of the senate or the edict of the magistrate, while the Forum was at once deserted and houses shut up. Grief was not, however, always shown at an emperor's death nor were honors always bestowed on the dead prince. Suetonius describes the joy manifested at the news of the death of Tiberius, Morte eius ita laetatus est populus, ut ad primum nuntium discurrentes pars: "Tiberium in Tiberim!" clamitarent etc. (*Tib*. 75.1.).

(*7*) *congessit* was placed after *quantas* in the *editio princeps* and in many of the early editions, probably because of the common use of *laudes* and *gratias* with the verb *agere* in such expressions (*Vesp*. 8.3; *Nero* 10.2; etc.). However, *agere gratias* is the regular phrase for "to render thanks," and Suetonius uses *congero* with *laudes* in the sense of lavishing praises (*Aug*. 98. 2.); there is, therefore, absolutely no reason for deviating from the MSS. reading.

(*8*) Although decrees of the senate bestowing honors on a living emperor might reasonably be considered slight proof of his popularity even with that

body (cf. *Aug.* 57.1, Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt videri vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia), those after the death of the prince were naturally felt to be worthy of note. Suetonius tells of the great and varied honors decreed by the senate and people to Augustus after his death (*Aug.* 100. 2.) and Trebellius Pollio says of the Emperor Claudius, Claudium principem loquor, cuius vita probitas et omnia quae in republica gessit tantam posteris famam dedere ut senatus populusque R. novis eum honoribus post mortem adfecerit (Treb. *Claud.* 3. 2.). The senate probably did not have long to express their grief at the death of Titus, for Domitian was soon at the helm (Dio 66. 26; *Dom.* 2, 3.) and, according to Dio, it took a very skillful courtier to avoid Domitan's jealousy and at the same time give true expression to his feelings in regard to Titus. He says, "But some praised Titus, not however in the hearing of Domitian, for that would have been a sin equal to reviling the emperor to his very face. . . . Domitian himself pretended to love and grieve for his brother and read with tears the eulogies in his honor and hastened to enroll him among the gods, pretending quite the opposite of what he really wished. People were not safe in joining with him in his grief or in his joy. In the former case they were likely to offend him, in the latter to make clear their own pretence" (Dio 67. 2.).

(*9*) Some MSS. (Q, s, N) read *cucurrit.* The better MSS. and the sense attest *concurrit.* As Marcilius remarks, "Nam cucurrisse senatores, quis credat?"

EXCURSUS A

The description of the Triumph of Vespasian and Titus (71 A. D.),[1] written by Josephus, who was undoubtedly an eye-witness of the ceremony,[2] is one of the most interesting of the many accounts[3] of such ceremonies at Rome. The following is a translation of Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 7. 5. 3 § 122-6 §157 incl.:

On the day when, according to previous announcement, the triumphal procession was to be held, no one of the countless multitude was left at home in the city; but all went out to find places to stand, leaving only so much space as was necessary for the passage of the spectacle. All the soldiers, in companies and divisions under their several commanders had been led out while it was still night, and were around the gates, not of the upper palace, but near the Temple of Isis[4] where the imperators had passed the night.

At daybreak Vespasian and Titus, crowned with laurel and wearing the purple robes of their rank, came out and made their way to the Porticus Octavia,[5] where the senators and chief magistrates and the equestrian order awaited their coming. In front of the colonnade a platform had been built and on it were chairs of ivory upon which they seated themselves when they arrived, while the soldiers shouted loudly in their honor, all bearing abundant testimony to their valor. They were unarmed, clad in silken apparel, and crowned with laurel.

[1] *Vesp.* 8.1; *Tit.* 6.1; *Dom.* 2.1.

[2] Jos. *Vita* 76.

[3] On the form of the Roman triumph, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8.66; cf. the triumph of Cincinnatus, *Liv.* 3.29.4,5; of Camillus, Liv. 5.23.4-6, Plut. *Cam.* 7.1; of Quintus Fabius, Liv. 10.30.8 ff.; of Papirius and Carvilius, Liv. 10.46; of Scipio Africanus, Liv. 30.45.2, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8.66; of Quinctius Flaminius, Liv. 34.52, Plut. *Flam.* 13-14; of C. Cornelius, Liv. 33.23.4-7; of Lucius Aemilius Paullus, Liv.45.40.1-5, Plut. *Aem.* 32-34; of Lucullus, Plut. *Luc.* 37; of Marius, Plut. *Mar.* 12; of Sulla, Plut. *Sulla* 34; of Pompey, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.116-117, Plut. *Pomp.* 45; of Caesar, Appian. *Bell. Civ.* 2.101-102, Dio 43.19 ff., Plut. *Caes.* 55; of Augustus, Dio 51.21; of Claudius, Dio 60.23; of Aurelian, Vopisc. *Aurelian.* 33.34.

[4] Iseum et Serapeum, in the Campus Martius near the Saepta, Platner pp. 358-359.

[5] Also called the porticus Corinthia. It stood between the theatre of Pompey and the Circus Flaminius, Platner p. 371.

When Vespasian had acknowledged the acclamations of the soldiers, he made the sign for silence, although they still wished to cheer. When all had become quiet, he arose, covered his head almost entirely with his cloak, and offered the customary prayers; then Titus also prayed in like manner. After these invocations Vespasian made a short speech to the assembled multitude and then dismissed the soldiers to eat the food which had been prepared for them according to custom.[6] Then the emperor and those with him went to the gate which has been named the Porta Triumphalis,[7] from the fact that the triumphal processions pass through it. There they partook of food and, after they had put on the triumphal robes[8] and sacrificed to the gods whose statues were set up near the gate, the procession advanced and marched through the theatres that the crowds might see it more easily.[9]

It is impossible to describe worthily the great number and magnificence of the wonderful sights in this pageant, everything that anyone could contrive by the labor of artisans, by the profusion of wealth, or by the use of rare natural objects. Indeed, wonderful and precious things, such as even prosperous men seldom possess in any number or at any one time, on this day were heaped one on another, making manifest the great power of the Romans. Here were to be seen gold, silver, and ivory made up into all sorts of forms[10] in such quantities that they did not appear to be carried in a procession only, but rather, as one might say, to flow along like a river. There were woven pieces, some of most costly purple and some with pictures made by the Babylonian art of embroidery.[11]

[6] Livy (3.29.5) tells us that in the triumph of Cincinnatus food was set before every house and that the troops partook of this as they followed the car, singing the triumphal songs and making the customary jests, *comissantium modo*.

[7] Platner p. 346. n. 1; cf. *Aug*. 100.2.

[8] For the dress of the general who was triumphing, cf. Dionys. Hal. 3.62, 5.47, Liv. 10.7.9, 10, Juv. 10.38, Appian. *Hist. Rom*. 8.66, Lyd. *de Mag*. 2.2, Plut. *Aem*. 34; Pompey wore the cloak of Alexander the Great in his third triumph, Appian *Hist. Rom*. 12. 117.

[9] Plut. *Aem*. 32, Ὁ *μὲν δῆμος, ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ* Κίρκους *καλοῦσιν, περί τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰκρία πηξάμενοι, καὶ τἆλλα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καταλαβόντες ὡς ἕκαστα παρεῖχε τῆς πομπῆς ἔποψιν, ἐθεῶντο καθαραῖς ἐσθῆσι κεκοσμημένοι.*

[10] For objects made of precious materials among the spoils, cf. Liv. 34.52. 5, Plut. *Luc*. 37.3, *Aem*. 32 etc.; statues of gold, Appian. *Hist. Rom*. 12.116, Plut. *Luc*. 37.3, Liv. 45.39.5.

[11] Cf. Liv. 45.39.5, 26.21.7 (in the ovation of M. Marcellus).

Transparent jewels in golden crowns and other settings were brought along in such numbers that we were convinced of the folly of considering such things rare.[12] Also there were the images of their[13] great gods, wonderful alike in size and in artistic and careful workmanship, all of precious materials. Many kinds of animals[14] were led along with appropriate decorations. The great numbers of men who attended to each division of the pageant were adorned with garments of purple and cloth of gold. The extravagance of the ornaments of those who were chosen to march in the parade itself was amazing.[15] Indeed, not even the throng of captives was without adornment, but the variety and beauty of their clothing took away the unpleasant effect of whatever was not beautiful in their bodies (hid from sight any unpleasant deformity of their bodies).[16]

The greatest wonder was excited by the construction of the floats[17] as they were borne along. They were so large that people were afraid that the bearers would not be able to hold up the load. Many of them were made with three or four stories and their richness

[12] In Plin. *Nat.* 37.13-16, we read of the treasures carried in Pompey's third triumph, among others of an image in pearls of the general himself. In Plut. *Luc.* 37.3, a jewelled shield is mentioned among the spoils; crowns in Appian. *Bell. Civ.* 2.102, *Hist. Rom.* 8.66, Liv. 34.52.8.

[13] *ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς μεγέθεσι θαυμαστά.* This seems to mean images of the Roman gods which were not, however, usually carried in processions. Barbarian gods were sometimes displayed among the spoils, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.116.

[14] The victims in the procession, oxen decorated with ribbons and garlands and with their horns gilded, cf. Plut. *Aem.* 33, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8.66, Liv. 34.52.9; also the animals for the shows which usually followed the triumph, cf. Vopisc. *Aurelian.* 33.4; elephants are especially mentioned, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8. 66, Liv. 26.21.9.

[15] For the decoration of the attendants of the victims, cf. Plut. *Aem.* 33; of the soldiers who followed the general, cf. Liv. 45.38.12, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8.66, etc.

[16] For the captives in processions, cf. Liv. 34.52.9, Plut. *Pomp.* 45, etc.; Pompey had the captive pirates arrayed in native costume, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.116; among the distinguished prisoners led in triumphal processions were Zenobia, Treb. *Tyr. Trig.* 30.24, Vopisc. *Aurelian.* 33.2,34.3; Perseus and his children, Liv. 45.40.6, Plut. *Aem.* 33; Jugurtha, Plut. *Mar.* 12; Juba, son of King Juba, Plut. *Caes.* 55; Arsinoe, Dio 43.19.

[17] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.3, vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum; in Liv. 41.28.10 we read of a plan of Sardinia on a tablet set up in a temple, Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque in eo simulacra pugnarum picta.

of decoration was a wonder and delight; for many were covered with cloth of gold and all were finished off with gold and ivory carefully wrought. The various scenes of the war were reproduced in different ways according to their character, and by means of vivid representations one could see a prosperous country ravaged, whole phalanxes of the enemy slain, some fleeing, others taken captive, and walls of surpassing size torn down by machines, strong citadels being taken, populous cities in lofty situations captured, armies pouring within the walls and the whole place filled with slaughter, enemies imploring mercy when they could no longer raise their hands against the conquerors, temples fired, houses overthrown upon their masters, and rivers flowing from a great and gloomy desert, not into a cultivated land for men and beasts to drink, but through a land still burning on every side. The art and magnificence of these representations showed what had taken place, to those who had not seen these sights just as if they had been present themselves. On each float was displayed the commander of the captured city and the manner of his capture. Next came many ships[18] and the rest of the spoils in profusion;[19] but the things taken from the Temple of Jerusalem were conspicuous, the golden table weighing many talents, and the candlestick, which is also of gold; but this had been made other than it was when we used it. The middle pillar was fastened to the base and from it fine branches spread out making

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Appian (*Hist. Rom.* 8.66) describes towers representing captured cities and pictures of exploits of the war. A picture or model of Syracuse was borne along in the procession at the ovation of Marcellus, Liv. 26.21.7; for representations of cities in triumphs, cf. also Plin. *Nat.* 5.36. Scenes from the victories were sometimes depicted, e.g., Cleopatra on the bed of death, Dio 51.21; the besieging and silent flight by night of Mithradates, his death, and images of his sons and daughters, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.116; the deaths of L. Scipio, Petreius, and Cato, Appian. *Bell. Civ.* 2.101. Besides, tablets bearing enumerations of sums of money taken and cities or nations defeated were carried in the parade, Vopisc. *Aurelian.* 34.1, Plut. *Luc.* 37.4, *Pomp.* 45.

[18] Cf. the beaks of ships shown in Pompey's triumph, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.116, and the one hundred and ten bronze beaked ships in the triumph of Lucullus, Plut. *Luc.* 37.3.

[19] Armor of all kinds and pieces of artillery were frequently displayed, Plut. *Luc.* 37.2, *Aem.* 32, *Flam.* 14, Liv. 34.52.4; also money of the defeated nations, Liv. 34.52.6, 7, Plut. *Flam.* 14, etc.

trident-like forms with a lamp forged on the end of each.[20] There were seven of these, showing the honor in which this number was held by the Jews. Next came the Laws of the Jews and this was the last of the booty.

Then there came men bearing the image of Victory, which was entirely of gold and ivory.[21] Then came Vespasian in his chariot[22] and finally Titus,[23] followed by Domitian magnificently dressed and mounted on a wonderful horse.[24]

When the triumphal procession reached the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, it stopped; for it was the ancient custom to wait here until announcement was made of the death of the leader of the enemy.[25] This was Simon, son of Gioras, who had been led along with the captives. Now with a noose around his neck and tortured by those who led him, he was dragged to the place in the

[20] Cf. the sculptures on the Arch of Divus Titus, Strong, *Roman Sculpture* p. 108, Exodus 25. 23-28, 31-40.

[21] In the sculptures the figure of Victory seems to be close behind Titus, crowning him. We learn from Pliny (*Nat.* 33.11) that a crown of Etruscan gold was customarily held over the head of the one who was triumphing by a slave standing behind him.

[22] The triumphal car, drawn by four white horses, cf. Plut. *Cam.* 7.1, Liv. 5.23.5; a gilded chariot, Liv. 10.7.10; Pompey rode in a car studded with gems, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.117.

[23] According to Orosius (7.9) Titus rode with his father in the same car; cf. Zonaras 11.17c.

[24] The double triumph was unusual, whether there were two cars or Titus rode with his father; but cf. Plut. *Mar.* 27. Commodus also triumphed with his father (Lampr. *Com.* 2.4) and Verus with his brother (Capit. *Ver.* 7.9). It was customary for the young children or relatives of the triumpher to ride with him in the car or on the trace horses (Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8.66; *Tib.* 6.4; Liv. 45. 40.8). Grown-up sons followed on horseback, as Domitian in this case; cf. Liv. 45.40.4, of the sons of L. Aemilius Paullus.

[25] For the custom of putting one or more of the prisoners to death, cf. Liv. 26.13. 15, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.117, Cic. *Verr.* 6.77, at etiam qui triumphant eoque diutius vivos hostium duces reservant, ut his per triumphum ductis pulcherrimum spectaclum fructumque victoriae populus Romanus percipere possit, tamen, cum de foro in Capitolium currus flectere incipiunt, illos duci in carcerem iubent, idemque dies et victoribus imperii et victis vitae finem facit. According to this custom Caesar had Vercingetorix put to death during his triumph. Arsinoe, however, was released, Dio 43.19. Like grace was given some of his prisoners by Pompey, Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 12.117, and to Zenobia by Aurelian, Treb. *Tyr. Trig.* 30.27.

Forum[26] where by the Roman law those condemned to death for evil deeds are slain. When it was announced that he was dead, the people all shouted for joy and the sacrifices were begun. When these were successfully performed with the customary prayers, the triumphators went away to the palace. The emperor entertained some at a banquet[27] and for all the others there were excellent preparations for feasting at home.[28] On this day the city of Rome celebrated the victory of the army over the enemy, the end of internal discord, and the beginning of hopes of prosperity.

[26] The Carcer; cf. Platner p. 250; Cic. *Verr.* 6.77.

[27] Originally the general and the senate were entertained at a public feast in the temple, Liv. 45.39.13. According to Appian. *Hist. Rom.* 8.66, the triumpher entertained friends at a banquet in the temple.

[28] Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city upon the occasion of his triumph, Plut. *Luc.* 37.4; so also Caesar, Dio 43.22.

EXCURSUS B

Facts in regard to Titus not mentioned by Suetonius in the Vita Divi Titi

Although the additional sources for the life of Titus are not numerous, some few facts may be added to the account of Suetonius. Some of these would naturally be passed over in a biography, where the main purpose is the portrayal of character rather than the recounting of facts. Thus Suetonius makes no mention of the war which was carried on in Britain during Titus's reign under the able leadership of Agricola.[1] This campaign was so successful that, if we may believe Dio,[2] Titus was hailed imperator for the fifteenth time as a direct consequence of it. Dio says: *ἐν μὲν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Τίτος αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἐπεκλήθη.* In the passage which follows, the allusion to Titus is thought by some authorities to be an error of the MSS.: *ὁ δὲ 'Αγρικόλας ἔν τε ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, ἅτε καὶ μείζονα ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας, ἔζησε, καὶ τέλος ἐσφάγη δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ, καίπερ τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου λαβών.*[3]

In regard to the doings of Titus during the time before Vespasian's death, Dio gives us some further information. He says that Titus once took part in a sham battle in heavy armor with Alienus, and also that the colossus on the Sacred Way was said by some to be a statue of Titus, by others a statue of Nero.[4] At the time when Vespasian was having trouble with the Alexandrines, who had been insulting to him, we learn that Vespasian only refrained from wreaking vengeance on them because of the intercession of his older son in their behalf. Even after this they are said to have called out to Titus in the presence of his father, "*συγγινώσκομεν αὐτῷ οὐ γὰρ οἶδε καισαρεύειν.*"[5] From *Dom.* 2. 3, we gather two facts in

[1] Tac. *Agr.* 20-22; Gsell 167.4.

[2] Dio 66.20.

[3] *παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου* is sometimes emended to read *παρὰ αὐτοῦ τούτου* in view of Tac. *Agr.* 40, where the triumphal honors are said to have been given Agricola by Domitian.

[4] Dio 66, 15.

[5] Dio 66. 8.

regard to Titus: that he succeeded his father by virtue of being named successor in his will, and that he gave a donative to the soldiers upon his accession.[6] From a passage in Pliny the Elder[7] it seems probable that Titus used a part of the *domus aurea* as his residence.

The only building activity that Suetonius mentions to the credit of Titus is the construction of the baths, *thermis celeriter extructis*.[8] To be sure, work on the amphitheatre[9] is implied in the mention of the dedication; and, after the disaster in Campania and the fire in Rome, we are told that Titus appointed commissioners for restoring and rebuilding.[10] Besides, inscriptions give evidence of extensive restorations of the Aqua Marcia[11] as well as of the Claudian aqueduct (Curtia et Caerulea aqua),[12] of the completion under Titus of the Via Flavia from Tergeste to Pola[13] and work on the Via Aurelia[14] and Via Flaminia.[15] Repairing of roads in Galatia[16] and Cypros[17] is attested, and one from Bracara to Asturica in Spain was built in his reign.[18] A number of buildings were also dedicated to Titus in various provinces.[19] A meeting of the Arval Brothers in the Temple of Ops is recorded, which was called for the purpose of offering vows for the restoration and dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This was on Dec. 7th, 80 A. D.[20]

[6] It seems to be fair to infer this from the fact that Domitian contemplated giving *duplum donativum* at that time. P. W. VI. 2. 2717 quotes Dio 66. 26 as additional proof of this point. The reference there is, however, to Titus's treatment of the soldiers in general: (Domitian) δοὺς αὐτοῦς ὅσονπερ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδεδώκει.

[7] Plin. *Nat.* 36. 37; cf. Jordan-Huelsen I[3] 274 n. 51.

[8] *Tit.* 7. 3.

[9] *Tit.* 7. 3; cf. Momms. *Chron.* p. 646, Hic (Titus) amphitheatrum a tribus gradibus patris sui duos adiecit; Cohen I p. 461, *Titus* 399, 400.

[10] *Tit.* 8. 4.

[11] Newton 112—*CIL.* VI. 1246 (Date 79).

[12] Newton 111—*CIL.* VI. 1258 (Date 81).

[13] Newton 120—*CIL.* V. 7988; Newton 121—*CIL.* V. 7986 (both of 79).

[14] Newton 116—*CIL.* VI. 942, XI. 3734 (Date 79).

[15] Newton 118—*CIL.* IX. 5936 (Date 80).

[16] Newton 146—*CIL.* III. 318 (Date 81).

[17] Newton 148—*CIL.* III. 6732 (Date 79).

[18] Newton 131-134.

[19] Newton 107-109.

[20] Newton 159—*CIL.* VI. 2059.

Zonaras tells of the appearance of a false Nero in the reign of Titus: Ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ὁ Ψευδονέρων ἐφάνη, ὃς Ἀσιανὸς ἦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Τερέντιος Μάξιμος, προσεοικὼς δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν φωνήν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκιθαρῴδει. ἔκ τε τῆς Ἀσίας τινὰς προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην προχωρῶν πολλῷ πλείους ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τέλος πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν· ὃς καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν Τίτον ποιούμενος ἐδέξατο τοῦτον καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεσκευάζετο.[21] It seems likely that this uprising had to be put down by force of arms, although we have no evidence of this. Perhaps Titus received one of his salutations as imperator on this occasion. If so, the pretender must have appeared in the year 80, for the fifteenth acclamation is recorded on an inscription of July, 80[22] and the seventeenth was probably in the first half of 81.[23] We have no testimony for the sixteenth, which took place, of course, in the interval between these two.

In Hieronymus (Reiff. *rel.* 82) we find, *Titus Musonium Rufum philosophum de exilio revocat.* This, Reifferscheid thinks, is by an error for Vespasian, since Musonius was banished by Nero[24] and, having returned after the death of Nero, was not included in the general banishment of philosophers under Vespasian, καὶ πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Οὐεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ Μουσωνίου, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλε.[25] The statement of Hieronymus is, however, sometimes accepted,[26] on the presumption that the philosopher was later exiled again during Vespasian's reign, of which fact, however, we have no evidence. The error, if such it be, is very natural in view of the fact that Titus might be expected to favor philosophers, since he was himself decidedly inclined to philosophical utterances.

Dio adds to the sayings of this nature quoted of Titus by Suetonius. Titus's reply to requests for favor from a former crony after his accession has already been cited in the note on ch. 1.[27] Again, when he refused to entertain cases of lese majesty, he said, "It is impossible for me to be outraged or insulted in any way. I do naught that deserves censure and I care not what is falsely re-

[21] Zon. 11. 18 c; cf. *Frag. Hist. Graec.* (Müller) IV, p. 578.

[22] Newton 146—*CIL.* III. 318.

[23] Newton III—*CIL.* VI. 1258; cf. *P. W.* VI, 2 p. 2721.

[24] Dio 62. 27.

[25] Dio 66. 13; but cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15. 71.

[26] *Prosop.* II. p. 394, n. 549.

[27] Dio 66. 18; see p. 3.

ported. As for the emperors that are dead and gone, they will avenge themselves in case anyone does them wrong, if in very truth they be heroes and possess some power."[28] Philostratus[29] informs us that Titus disclaimed the honor of a crown offered him by the neighboring races after his victory in Judaea, "saying that it was not he himself that had accomplished this exploit, but that he had merely lent his arms to God, who had so manifested his wrath." Apollonius wrote him a letter praising his action as follows: Μὴ *βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ' ἐπὶ δηίῳ αἵματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέφανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γιγνώσκεις.* In his interview with Apollonius in Tarsus, before going to Rome after his father's accession, Titus expressed fear that he was unworthy to hold such great power and asked advice from the philosopher. Apollonius bade him continue in his humble attitude toward his father and promised him the good services of Demetrius, a Cynic teaching in Rome, as instructor in the duties of a ruler.[30]

In regard to details of administration or legislation in Titus's reign there is little additional information. We learn that he reduced the number of *praetores Fidei commissarii* to one: Divus Claudius duos praetores adiecit qui de fidei commisso ius dicerent; ex quibus unum Divus Titus detraxit.[31] He gave the soldiers the *liberam testamenti factionem* which had been granted before only by Julius Caesar.[32] Pliny in a letter to Trajan speaks of an epistle of the deified Titus to the Lacedemonians in regard to the position of freeborn children who had been deserted.[33]

Zonaras strikes a discordant note in the accounts of the character of Titus, *ἦν δὲ περὶ χρήματα ἀκριβὴς καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀνήλισκεν· οὐδένα μέντοι ποτὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐκόλασεν.*[34] All the other accounts show him generous and even prodigal.

Suetonius in the Life of Domitian mentions the deification of Titus: (Titum) defunctumque nullo praeterquam consecrationis

[28] Dio 66. 19 (Transl. Foster).

[29] Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 29 (Transl. Conybeare).

[30] Philost. *Apoll.* 6. 30, 31.

[31] *Dig.* 1. 2. 2. 32; Momms. *St. R.* II. 103, 202.

[32] *Dig.* 29. 1. 1.

[33] Plin. *Epist.* 10. 65. 3.

[34] Zon. 11. 18 B.

honore dignatus, saepe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus et edictis.[35] Pliny gives the following reasons for the deification of emperors before the time of Trajan: dicavit caelo Tiberius Augustum, sed ut maiestatis crimen induceret, Claudium Nero, sed ut inrideret, Vespasianum Titus, Domitianus Titum, sed ille ut dei filius, hic, ut frater videretur.[36] He also says (Plin. *Paneg.* 35): Ingenti quidem animo Titus securitati nostrae ultionique prospexerat ideoque numinibus aequatus est. Just how soon the consecration took place is not certain, but his name appears without *Divus* on the Acts of the Arval Brothers for Oct. 1st, 81.[37] The priests in charge of the Flavian cult were called *Flaviales*, but after the deification of Titus, *Titiales* was added to the name of the college.[38]

[35] *Dom.* 2. 3.
[36] Plin. *Paneg.* 11.
[37] *CIL.* VI. 2060.
[38] Gsell p. 51, n. 1.